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FIG. 1—BARCELONA, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS: ALTAR-FRONTAL. CHRIST IN MAJESTY, AND THE TWELVE APOSTLES

The Earliest Painted Panels of Catalonia (II)

BY WALTER W. S. COOK

(3) Two Altar-Frontals in the Barcelona Museum

TWO altar-frontals now in the Museum of Fine Arts at Barcelona (Figs. 1, 2),¹ show a beauty of composition, draughtsmanship, and color superior to many other examples in this series of the earliest painted panels of Catalonia. Together with the St. Martin antependium from Montgrony and the Vich altar-canopy, discussed in the preceding article,² they form a group so essentially Spanish and racial that we may consider them products of a single school. The community of atelier is obvious at a glance; both show the same composition, a central compartment containing a large figure of the Saviour seated within a globe-mandorla and two lateral compartments with figures of saints.

In the first of these two panels (Fig. 1),³ Christ sits enthroned at the intersection of two circles, composed of concentric bands of color, the central band embellished with a series of alternating roundels and paired dots as a filling *motif*. The feet rest on a semi-circle with growing acanthus underneath. The closed Book of the Gospels, its cover ornamented with a floral pattern, is held on the left knee, and the right hand is raised in benediction. The Saviour is depicted with curly black hair, slight moustache and beard, and a large crossed nimbus, the cross projecting beyond the circumference of the circle. A wide-sleeved tunic falls in stiff folds to the ankles, and a heavy mantle, draped over both shoulders, covers the knees in rigid, cap-like folds. The outer edge of both tunic and mantle is embroidered with a wide pearl-and-dot border, and the folds of the tunic across the chest are indicated by broadly curving parallel stripes. The figure is thrown into sharp relief against a yellow background. The red field outside the mandorla is filled with yellow rosettes, which are composed in some cases of a central roundel surrounded by dots, in others of three pearls with dot filling.

Each of the two lateral compartments (Fig. 1) contains six Apostles, arranged in a pyramidal, rigidly symmetrical group. The Apostles wear plain nimbi, richly embroidered mantles, and long tunics, which flare outward at the lower edge or fly upward in puffs. Some are depicted with beards and others are beardless. Each has a circular spot, or *tache*, on cheeks and forehead, and each holds either a book or a scroll, while St. Peter, on the Saviour's right, is distinguished by a tonsure as well as the keys. The plain yellow ground behind the figures is filled with red rosettes, similar to those in the spandrels of the central compartment, and a pearl border surrounds each lateral compartment on three sides.

The frame enclosing the whole composition is embellished with an ornamental border which differs on the four sides: above, an intersecting ribbon, or perspective lozenge,

¹For many of the illustrations published in this article I am indebted to the Institut d'Estudis Catalans, *Rep. Ic. de Espana, cliché-Mas*, Sr. D. Jeroni Martorell, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Moreno, Giraudon, Mr. A. M. Friend, Dr. van Buren, M. Gudiol i Cunill, and Professor Charles R. Morey. I am especially indebted to Miss Belle da Costa Greene, director of Mr. Pierpont Morgan's library, who has lent me several photographs for reproduction. I also wish to thank Mr. Roger S. Loomis for the photograph of the Beatus MS. illustrated in the preceding article of this series, *The Art Bulletin*, V, 4, fig. 21, and Mr. Robert I. Powell, of the Princeton School of Architecture, who made the drawing of the Berenguer sarcophagus shown in fig. 7 of the same article.

²See *The Art Bulletin*, V, 4, pp. 85 ff.

³Museum of Fine Arts, Barcelona, no. 2; acquired in 1904; according to the dealer, Sr. Dupont, from whom it was purchased, the panel came from a church in the region of La Seo d'Urgel; tempera on panel; the ornament on the lower border of the frame has almost entirely disappeared, but otherwise the work is in excellent condition. The brilliant colors are unusually well preserved.

with acanthus filling; on the left, a series of tangent medallion rosettes which also contain acanthus filling; on the right, a foliate scroll with palmettes; and below, traces of *rinceaux* now almost entirely effaced. The small insets at the corners, where metal clamps are employed in riveting the frame together, are decorated with a diaper pattern with roundel filling.

In the second Barcelona altar-frontal (Fig. 2)¹ the Saviour, in the central compartment, almost duplicates the Saviour shown in Fig. 1. He is enthroned in the same manner within a globe-mandorla, the inner and outer bands of which are ornamented with a pearl border. The segments of the globe-mandorla in this case, however, are circular, whereas in the other panel they are slightly elliptical. The blessing right hand is raised in the same relative position, but a small ball, or other circular object, is held between the fingers. The beard is pointed and the facial type is longer and more rectangular in appearance because of a prolongation of the contours of the neck.

The chief divergence of the second frontal appears in its lateral compartments, which are subdivided into eight small rectangles, each containing two standing figures, relieved against alternate red and yellow backgrounds framed by a heavy band of pearl-and-dot ornament. Four of the sixteen figures can be identified with certainty. St. Peter, with the key, is the first figure in the upper compartment on the right. St. Martin is in the adjoining end panel, where we read the inscription MAR(tinus). With a short-bladed knife he divides his cloak with the beggar, who, save for his bare feet, is already well clad in heavy mantle and long leggings and carries a staff passed through two rings at the ends of a chain hung over his right shoulder. The same saint, again with the inscription MAR(tinus), appears as a bishop saint, with nimbus, tonsure, pænula, and pallium, in the upper compartment on the left, next to the *Majestas*. He blesses with his right hand and holds a crozier in his left, the crook turned in toward the shoulder. The lay figure beside him is so mutilated that it cannot be identified with certainty, but the absence of a nimbus suggests that it represents the catechumen who was miraculously restored to life. Each of the twelve figures in the remaining compartments is shown with halo, book, long tunic, and mantle. They unquestionably represent the twelve Apostles, an interpretation confirmed by their bare feet, since St. Martin alone is depicted with shoes. A slight differentiation appears in that they are alternately bearded and beardless. As in the preceding antependium, there is the frontal stance and the gaze of the Apostles directed toward the Saviour, although here the heads are not inclined inward.

A Leonine inscription, written on the horizontal bands which divide the upper and lower registers, reads,

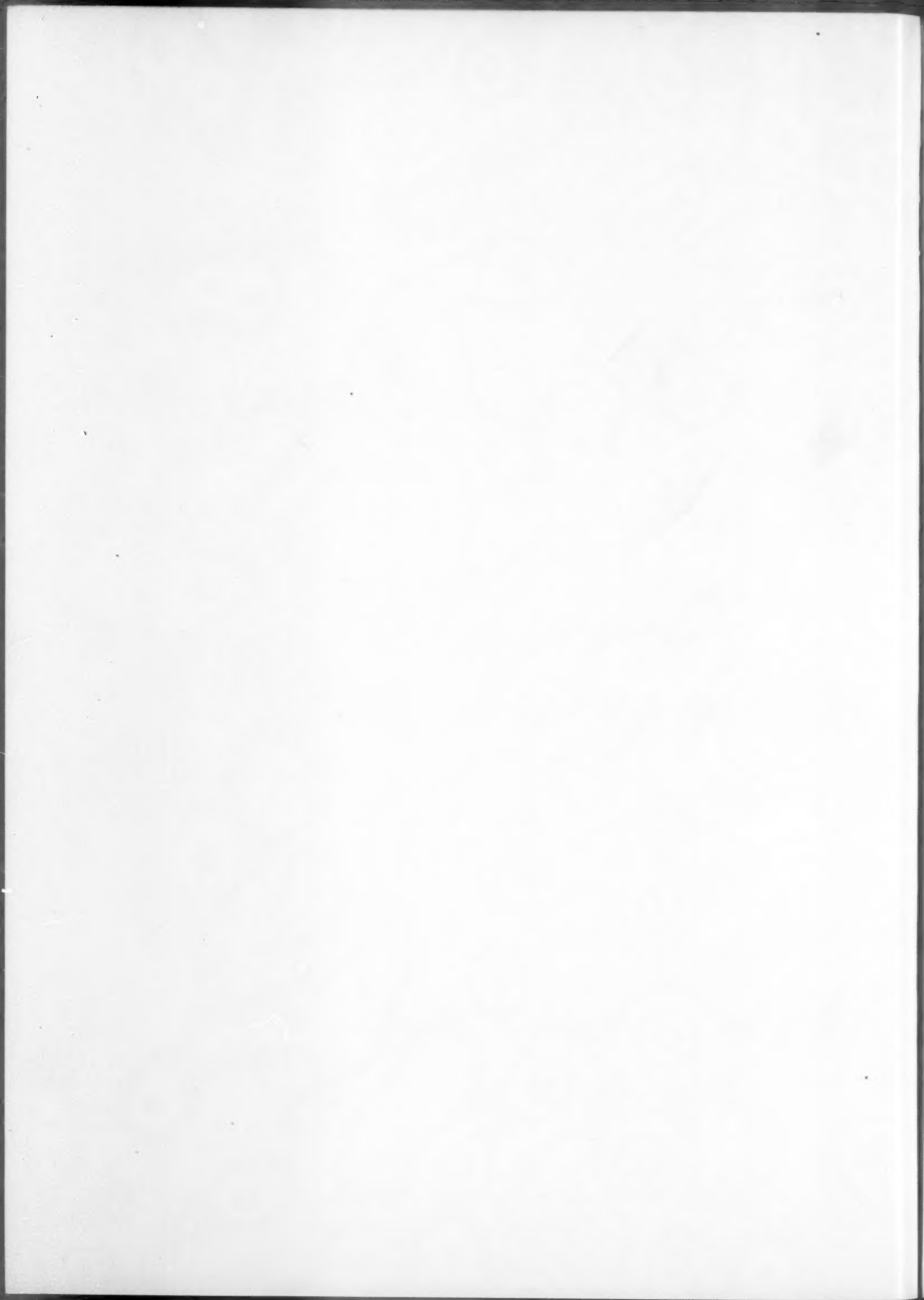
SOL ET LVX SANC TORVM MANEO PRECLARA BONORVM

The four sides of the frame are decorated with bands of ornament disposed exactly as in the preceding panel: at the top, a deeper perspective lozenge with more highly conventionalized acanthus filling; below, the same intricate *rinceaux*, much better preserved; at the right, an almost identical design, but with medallions closer together; at the left, however, medallions with palmettes and animals (lion and bird). At the corners appear the same rectangular insets with diaper-and-bead pattern, together with all four metal clamps.

¹Museum of Fine Arts, Barcelona, no. 1; little is known of the history or provenance of this work prior to its acquisition by the museum; tempera on panel; longer and narrower than the preceding; the background of the central figure and portions of the drapery in the left compartment have been damaged, but otherwise the colors are fresh and well preserved.



FIG. 2—BARCELONA, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS: ALTAR-FRONTAL. CHRIST IN MAJESTY, SAINTS, AND OTHER FIGURES



The perspective lozenge, or intersecting ribbon, at the top of the frame, is obviously a doubling of the zigzag ribbon which we have considered in connection with the Vich altar-canopy.¹ It is a particular favorite with the Ottonian illuminators of the eleventh and twelfth centuries² and is also found, in a modified form, in Lombard art in Italy.³ During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries it is widespread in France (Fig. 43),⁴ whence it seems to have passed into Catalonia, since we find it in the Romanesque frescoes of San Miquel de la Seo and Sant Martí de Fenollar⁵ as well as on the façade of Ripoll.⁶ It is therefore quite possible that the *motif* migrated from Germany to Lombardy and thence to France and Spain, following the route of the double-axe pattern.⁷

The rosette medallions on the left side of the frame of the first panel (Fig. 1) are derived from an all-over pattern of intersecting circles. Reduced to its lowest terms as a simple geometric *motif* and devoid of foliate filling, this pattern is found in common use throughout the Roman Empire, occurring most frequently in the floor mosaics of Northern Africa and Southern Gaul.⁸ In Spain it was not only employed during the late Roman period, as in the well-known mosaics at Tarragona, Barcelona, and Mallorca,⁹ but it persisted in sixth-century Visigothic monuments at Toledo, Cordova, and Tarrassa.¹⁰ Thereafter its appearance in the peninsula prior to the thirteenth century is sporadic. An example occurs in the sculptured cornice of San Juan de los Caballeros at Segovia.¹¹ It is

¹The Art Bulletin, loc. cit., p. 97.

²Evangeliary of Otto III, cod. lat. 4453, Munich, with foliate filling (Leidinger, *Miniaturen aus Handschriften der Kgl. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München*, I, pl. 2); Perikopenbuch of Henry II, cod. lat. 4452, Munich, with foliate filling (*ibid.*, V, pl. 6); Evangeliary from the cathedral treasury of Bamberg, cod. lat. 4454, Munich (*ibid.*, VI, pl. 20); Gumpertsbibel in Erlangen, XII century (Swarsenski, *Die Salzburger Malerei*, pl. XLII, fig. 132); Perikopenbuch from Passau, Munich, Clm. 16002 (*ibid.*, pl. LXXXIX, fig. 303); Gospels from Weißenstephan, ribbon doubled back (*ibid.*, pl. XCII, fig. 313); Missal, sacristy of cathedral, Trent (Hermann, *Die ill. Handschriften in Tirol*, fig. 119); Cologne Gospels, Priesterseminar (H. Ehl, *Die Ottonische Buchmalerei*, Bonn, Leipzig, 1922, fig. 112). It is found in German stained glass at Colmar (Arthur Martin and Charles Cahier, *Monographie de la cathédrale de Bourges*, Paris, 1841-1844, pl. 8aH, fig. 1).

³Illuminated manuscript, Mantua, Municipal Library, cod. C, III, 20 (Toesca, *op. cit.*, fig. 50); cf. the all-over pattern on the southern jamb, western portal, cathedral of Trani (Bari) (A. K. Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, Boston, 1923, pl. 210), which is identical in type with that of the Gospels of Weißenstephan (Swarsenski, loc. cit.).

⁴The Bible of Saint-Aubin d'Angers has been dated by Boinet in the X century, but the style accords rather with the late XI or XII. The *motif* appears in sculpture at Semur-en-Brionnais (Saône-et-Loire), church of St. Hilary (Victor Terret, *La sculpture bourguignonne aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles*, Autun, Paris, 1914, pl. XXXI); Chartres, west façade (E. Houbert, *Portail occidental ou royal*, pls. 5, 6); L'Île-Bouchard (Indre-et-Loire), capital of ambulatory, orphries of chasuble (Porter, *op. cit.*, pl. 1107); Charlieu (Loire), portal (R. de Lasteyrie, *L'architecture religieuse en France à l'époque romane*, Paris, 1912, fig. 688); St. Junien (Hte.-Vienne), tomb of St. Junien, shaft (*ibid.*, fig. 681); and in frescoes at St.-Savin (Vienne) (Gélis-Didot and Laffillée, *op. cit.*, pls. 2 (10), 3 (2)); church of St.-Jacques-des-Guérets (Loir-et-Cher) (*ibid.*, figs. B, C, D); church of St.-Désiré (Allier) (*ibid.*, pl. 8 (8)); cathedral of Clermont (Puy-de-Dôme), as an all-over pattern (*ibid.*, pl. 21 (11)); Montoire (Loir-et-Cher), in parallel rows (*ibid.*, pl. 5 (8)). Examples are found in England at Kempsey (Gloucestershire), fresco, chancel of church (N. H. J. Westlake, *History of Design in Mural Painting*, London, 1905, II, pl. CXCVIII); Copford (Essex) (*ibid.*, pl. CCXIV); North English Psalter, late XII century, Copenhagen Museum, Thotts saml. 143, 2°, fols. 14, 15v (M. Mackeprang et al., *Greek and Latin Illuminated Manuscripts, X-XIII Centuries*, in *Danish Collections*, Copenhagen, 1921, pls. LIV, LV).

⁵*Pintures murals catalanes*, fasc. II, pl. VII, fig. 9.

⁶Porter, *op. cit.*, pl. 571. It appears also on the south portal of the Colegiata at Tudela, *ibid.*, pl. 788.

⁷R. B. O'Connor, *The Mediaval History of the Double-Axe Motif*, A. J. A., XXIV, pp. 151 ff.

⁸For a list see Paul Clemen, *Die romanische Monumentalmalerei in den Rheinlanden*, Düsseldorf, 1916, p. 71, n. 186.

⁹Mosaic of "Medusa," Tarragona Museum, no. 2921; mosaic of the "Three Graces," Barcelona, Museum of Santa Agueda, no. 797; mosaic from the baths of S. Maria (Palma de Mallorca); mosaic of St. Just Desvern, all-over pattern; mosaic of Puig de Cebolla, near Saguntum, all-over pattern, illustrated in Puig y Cadafalch, *L'arquitectura romànica a Catalunya*, Barcelona, 1911, I, figs. 264, 259, 342, 272, 290. The design is employed also as an all-over pattern in the Ibero-Mycenaean period, e. g., *Pedra fermosa* of Sabroso, Pierre Paris, *Essai sur l'art et l'industrie de l'Espagne primitive*, Paris, 1903, I, fig. 24.

¹⁰Relief from the Visigothic church of San Ginés, Toledo (*Monumentos arquitectónicos de España. Toledo*, I, pl. 4); chancel relief, VI century, Loja (Rohault de Fleury, *La Messe*, III, pl. CCXXV); relief from Cordova; impost block, church of San Juan de Baños (Vicente Lampérez y Romea, *Historia de la arquitectura cristiana española en la edad media*, Madrid, 1908, I, figs. 50, 52); apse mosaic, church of Sant Pere de Tarrassa (Puig y Cadafalch, *op. cit.*, I, fig. 351).

¹¹Enrique Serrano Fatigati, *Escultura en España*, Madrid, 1900, p. 15.

also found early in the East¹ and in mosaics in Early Christian basilicas in Rome,² but it is rare in Merovingian and Carolingian manuscripts and ivories.³ The Roman form appears in the late eleventh-century frescoes in the church of St. Michael at Fulda and in the cathedral of Essen,⁴ but it seems to have been omitted from the repertoire of the Ottonian illuminators, who copied so many Roman mosaic patterns, such as the double-axe and the perspective meander.⁵ Indeed, the intersecting-circle *motif*, either as an all-over pattern or as a border ornament, does not become common in Western Europe until the thirteenth century, when it is found in sculpture, frescoes, manuscripts, and stained glass.⁶ In the Byzantine examples, on the other hand, a pronounced preference is shown for the pattern with foliate filling, which appears early and late.⁷ It is this particular version of the rosette medallion that we have on our panel, and since it is almost entirely lacking in Western art prior to the thirteenth century, when it is chiefly employed in stained glass, its appearance must be considered as an indication of advanced date in the Romanesque period.

The ornament on the left side of the frame of the second panel, medallions containing birds, lion, and foliate palmettes (Fig. 2), is rendered in a manner typical of the fully developed Romanesque. The use of animals within medallions is Eastern in origin; but the treatment here differs from earlier Moslem and Mozarabic examples, where the tail of

¹Rabula Gospels, from Zagba, Mesopotamia, columns and arches of canon tables (Garrucci, *Storia dell'arte cristiana*, III, pls. 129, 130, 133, 134, 135); Coptic funerary stele (Al. Gayet, *L'art copte*, Paris, 1902, p. 227); Coptic stone frieze, Metropolitan Museum, New York City, no. 2828g 41; door of S. Sabina, Rome (A. Colasanti, *L'arte bizantina in Italia*, Milan, pl. 71); Vienna Dioscurides, Med. Gr. I, fol. 3v, c. 512 (A. de Premerstein, *Dioscurides, Codex Aniciae Iulianae picturis illustratus, nunc Vindobonensis*, Leyden, 1906); Gospels of Monza, book-cover, VII century (Auguste Molinier, *Les manuscrits et les miniatures*, Paris, 1892, p. 105); inlaid revetment of wall, border ornament (536-547), S. Vitale, Ravenna (Colasanti, *op. cit.*, pl. 76); altar-frontal, or pluteus, bishop's palace, Ravenna (*ibid.*, pl. 75); pavement mosaic, palace of Theodoric (*ibid.*, pl. 99). Later examples are: pavement mosaic, church of St. Luke, Phocis (Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, fig. 251); mosaics (1143), La Martorana, Palermo (Colasanti, *op. cit.*, pls. 29, 31); mosaics, Capella Palatina, Palermo (Arne Dehli, *Norman Monuments of Palermo and Environs*, Boston, 1892, pl. XII); floor mosaics, S. Cataldo, Palermo (Wilhelm Zahn, *Ornamente aller klassischen Kunst-epochen*, Berlin, 1870, pl. 78); altar-frontal, *opus Alexandrinum*, Ferentino (A. D. F. Hamlin, *A History of Ornament*, New York, 1916, fig. 243).

²San Marco, floor mosaics of choir, c. 800 (Matthew D. Wyatt, *Specimens of the Geometrical Mosaic of the Middle Ages*, London, 1848, pl. 2, fig. 1); San Giovanni Laterano (*ibid.*, pl. 4, 3); San Giovanni e Paolo (*ibid.*, pl. 5, 1); San Lorenzo f. l. m. (*ibid.*, pl. 7). See also an VIII-century South Italian manuscript (British Museum, Add. 5463, fol. 2), arch of canon table.

³A debased Merovingian border example is shown by Fulda MS., cod. Bonif. 2, fol. 99 (Zimmermann, *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen*, pl. 68) and an early Carolingian example is found in fresco at Aix-la-Chapelle (Clemen, *op. cit.*, fig. 23).

⁴Clemen, *op. cit.*, figs. 56, 57, 93.

⁵A double twisted ribbon which often appears on the canon tables of Ottonian manuscripts produces an effect somewhat analogous to the mosaic pattern, but it was not necessarily derived from the same source as the *motif* of the frescoes of Fulda and Essen (e. g., Stephan Beissel, *Die Bilder der Handschrift des Kaisers Otto im Münster zu Aachen*, Aachen, 1886, pls. 1, 2, 19, 22, 25, 26); Gospels of Bamberg, cod. lat. 4454 (Leidinger, *op. cit.*, VI, pl. 8); Canon tables, Gospel of Matthew, Gospels of Otto (Hermann Hieber, *Die Miniaturen des frühen Mittelalters*, Munich, 1912, fig. 70). An all-over pattern of similar character appears on the background of a page of Mark in the Codex Egberti (Franz X. Kraus, *Die Miniaturen des Codex Egberti*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1884, pl. IV). Cf. also Gospels, MS. 18583, Brussels, Royal Library (Ehl, *op. cit.*, pl. 28).

⁶Sculpture: Étaples (Seine-et-Oise), west portal, archivolt (Porter, *op. cit.*, pl. 1413); Chartres, west front, colonnettes (E. Houvet, *op. cit.*, pl. 5); Tocane-Saint-Apre, fragment of stone chancel (de Lasteyrie, *L'architecture religieuse*, 1912, fig. 82). Frescoes: church of the Jacobins (Lot-et-Garonne), XIII century, with star fillings; cathedral of LePuy, (Hte.-Loire), XII-XIII century; church of St. Michel d'Aiguille, near Le Puy, all-over pattern; St. Jacques-des-Guérêts (Loir-et-Cher) (Gélis-Didot and Laffillée, *op. cit.*, pls. 20 (5), 21 (3, 4), 23 (8), ch. V, fig. B); church of St. Catherine, Hocheppan (N. H. J. Westlake, *op. cit.*, 1905, II, pl. CCXXVII, H). Manuscripts: Salerno, cathedral sacristy, Exultet roll, XIII century (A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, III, figs. 668-674, 677, 681, 684); Bibl. Casanatense, Exultet roll (*Mélanges d'arch. et d'histoire*, VI, 1886, pls. VII, VIII). Stained Glass: Tours, cathedral, chapel of the Virgin; Sens, cathedral, apse; Clermont-Ferrand, cathedral; Strassburg, church of St. Thomas (Arthur Martin and Charles Cahier, *op. cit.*). Other Italian examples are found in Montecassino, church of St. Benedict, pavement mosaic, end of XI century (E. Bertaux, *L'art dans l'Italie méridionale*, pl. V); Piacenza, palazzo civico, lunette of window (Camille Martin, *L'art roman en Italie*, Paris, 1912, I, pl. 25 (2)); Civita Castellana, cathedral, door jamb (Wyatt, *op. cit.*, pl. 12, fig. 8 C).

⁷VI-century silver dish from Cyprus (Dalton, *op. cit.*, fig. 436); Br. Mus., Add. MS. 5111, fol. 10, VI-VII century (Arthur Haseloff, *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis*, Berlin, Leipzig, 1898, fig. 1; for color illustrations see Henry Shaw, *Illuminated Ornaments selected from Manuscripts and early printed Books*, London, 1833, all-over pattern and border); Br. Mus., Add. MS. 11870, fol. 188 (Warner, *Reproductions from Illuminated Manuscripts*, London, 1910, pl. 1).



FIG. 3—LEON, CATHEDRAL ARCHIVES: PAGE FROM
MOZARABIC MS. X-XI CENTURY



FIG. 4—RIPOLL, MONASTERY OF SANTA MARIA:
DETAIL FROM PORTAL



FIG. 5—RIPOLL, MONASTERY OF SANTA MARIA:
DETAIL FROM PORTAL



the lion turns up over the back, as shown in a manuscript page at Leon (Fig. 3). In our panel the tail is brought up between the legs, a *motif* which is common in Eastern textiles¹ and appears in Western art as early as the ninth century. It is seen in the Gospels of Lothaire,² the Paliotto of Milan,³ and is widespread throughout Europe in twelfth-century Romanesque sculpture (cf. Fig. 4).⁴ The highly conventionalized balls of foliage, moreover, are typical of the middle and second half of the century.⁵ The alternation of animal and foliate motives, enclosed within medallions, is similar in arrangement to the band of ornament on an archivolt of the doorway at Ripoll (Fig. 4), and an even closer parallel is found in the twelfth-century stained glass at Chartres.⁶

The *rinceaux*, which is clearly visible on the lower border of the second panel (Fig. 2) and of which traces still exist in a corresponding position on the first (Fig. 1), is a development of the old Roman acanthus scroll. It assumes here the involutions seen in the late Imperial period and is found in similar form in the mosaics of S. Giovanni in Fonte at Ravenna and in the Lateran at Rome (apse of the chapel of SS. Rufina e Secunda), both of the fifth century.⁷ The ornament is very common in sixth-century Italy. In the Carolingian period it appears, together with other late Classic borrowings, in the ornamental repertoire of the manuscript illuminators of Tours,⁸ and after this period it is so widespread that further citations are unnecessary. A particular favorite with metal workers from the eleventh century on, it appears on the Felicia book-cover in the Metropolitan Museum,⁹ and our artist may have borrowed his pattern from such a source.

The acanthus filling in the arc which appears underneath the feet of Christ in both panels is derived ultimately from an English source; for the combination of leaves and enclosing band is characteristic of Anglo-Saxon borders.¹⁰ The stiff verticality of the leaves and the sharp vigor of their terminal curl are proto-Gothic in effect and can be paralleled in many sculptured examples of the second half of the twelfth century.¹¹ The actual combination of these proto-Gothic leaves and their arcuated border is to be found in a twelfth-century fresco of the church of Petit-Quévilly (Seine-Inférieure).¹²

We have already noted that the perspective zigzag ribbon of the Vich altar-canopy appears in identical form on the portal and attic of Ripoll (Fig. 4) and that a close parallel for the alternating-animal-and-rosette medallions also is found on a carved archivolt of the same church. These analogies recall the fact that the ornamental border, as well as certain iconographic peculiarities, of the St. Martin antependium from Montgrony re-

¹Otto v. Falke, *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei*, Berlin, 1913, figs. 248, 258 (Byzantine); figs. 187, 189, 193, 204 (Moorish); fig. 269 (Italian).

²Boinet, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIII.

³Excellent illustrations of this important monument have been published by Nello Tarchiani in *Dedalo*, II, 1921.

⁴Italy: Modena (Venturi, *op. cit.*, III, fig. 234); Trani (Martin Wackernagel, *Die Plastik des XI. und XII. Jahrhunderts in Apulien*, Leipzig, 1911, pl. XXX). France: Angoulême (Marcou, *Musée de sculpture comparée*, Paris 1892, Series I, pl. 39); Châlons-sur-Marne (*ibid.*, pl. 54). Catalonia: Elne, Sant Benet de Bagés, Llansá, San Juan de las Abadeses, Ripoll, Sant Pere de Besalú (Puig y Cadafalch, *op. cit.*, III, figs. 363-4, 411, 936, 1070, 1192, 1213).

⁵Chartres, west front (Houvet, *op. cit.*, pl. 36; also see J. B. A. Lassus and A. P. Duval, *Monographie de la cathédrale de Chartres*, Paris, 1865, pl. B); Le Mans, window of Sts. Gervasius and Protasius (Hucher, *Vitraux peints de la cathédrale du Mans*, pl. 13).

⁶Window of the Infancy of Christ (Lassus and Duval, *op. cit.*, pls. A-E); cf. also the early XII-century lintel of the door on the north side of the cathedral of Troia (Wackernagel, *op. cit.*, pl. XIV b).

⁷Colasanti, *op. cit.*, pl. 76; De Rossi, *Mosaici cristiani di Roma*, pl. XI.

⁸Gospels of St. Gauzelin; Bible of Bamberg; Sacramentary of Marmoutier (Boinet, *op. cit.*, pls. XXVIII, XXIX, XLIII).

⁹J. Breck, *Spanish Ivories in the Morgan Collection*, in *A. J. A.*, XXIV, 1920, p. 224, fig. 3.

¹⁰Warner, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, 1910, pls. 7-11.

¹¹Notre-Dame, Laon (Aisne), capitals (Marcou, *op. cit.*, Series I, pls. 55, 56).

¹²Gélie-Didot and Laffillée, *op. cit.*, pl. XI (2).

appear on the tomb of Berenguer the Great at this monastery of Ripoll. With these indications in mind, one is prepared to find the connection between the two panels and Ripoll finally confirmed.

A strip of carved ornament on the façade of Ripoll (Fig. 5) is analogous to that found on the right of the frames of our two panels. The pattern consists of a stem with branches curling backward to form medallions; the ends cross the main stem and break out into foliation, and, to balance, a corresponding leaf is added on the opposite side. In our panels a cabbage-like palmette and, alternating with it, a ball of foliage are enclosed within the medallions; at Ripoll this leaf ball is replaced by a variant of the palmette with closed leaves. The *motif* appears in Lombard sculpture in Northern and Southern Italy,¹ and Puig y Cadafalch has shown that the façade of Ripoll, executed about the middle of the twelfth century, exhibits many Lombard features.² The appearance of the pattern at Ripoll may therefore be ascribed to the presence of Lombard workmen or Catalan sculptors who imitated Lombard models. Its transcription into painting, as shown on our panels, produces a richer effect in the foliage, like that in the English illuminated borders, but the source of the pattern is clearly the ornamental repertoire used at Ripoll. The relationship between the two panels and the carving at Ripoll is important because the *motif* is sufficiently rare in mediæval ornament to be considered as strong evidence of a community of school.

As suggested above, our two panels show so many points of similarity that they are obviously the products of the same atelier, if not of the same artist. Yet there are significant points of divergence in the facial types, an analysis of which will serve to establish the regional character of the panels, which is native to the Iberian peninsula. In Fig. 2 the Saviour's nose is drawn after the same formula as in the St. Martin panel from Montgrony and in the Vich altar-canopy, a Spanish mannerism which reverts to Italo-Byzantine models. In Fig. 1, on the other hand, and, for that matter, in the side panels of Fig. 2, a new version appears; the tip of the nose is drawn as a continuation of the nostrils, producing a widespread, flat appearance. This characteristic feature, together with a long mouth turned down at the corners, diminutive ears, wide-open eyes, and the block-like treatment of the Apostles' heads (Fig. 1), shown in three-quarters view, constitutes a local Catalan type which appears first in the Gospel pages of the Bible of Farfa³ and later in twelfth-century Catalan manuscripts. Many of the faces in both our panels might have been copied line for line from such manuscript models as the page of the Crucifixion now in the museum at Vich (Fig. 6) or that of St. John in the Gospels of Perpignan (Fig. 32), written in the Catalan monastery of Sant Miquel de Cuixà. The quality of the drawing in our panels is far superior to that in the manuscripts, but the close community of school is betrayed by the identical rendering of the nose, mouth, ears, and eyes. Nothing, in fact, illustrates better the close dependence of the panel painter upon native manuscript models. The gaze turned sharply to right or left in faces which are completely, or nearly, frontal is, of course, a common Romanesque convention, but its exaggeration in our panels is a local Spanish mannerism, though there is no such comic exaggeration as that in the figures of Adam and Eve, for example, on a page of the Escorial Beatus.⁴

Local mannerisms appear also in the drapery style of our panels. Especially noticeable is the mannered rendering of the Languedoc "flying fold." The ends of the

¹Parma, lunette of south portal (Porter, *Lombard Sculpture*, pl. 164 (2)); Sagra, S. Michele di S. Ambrogio, Badia (*ibid.*, pl. 196 A (2)); Acerenza, cathedral (Wackernagel, *op. cit.*, pl. XV a).

²*Op. cit.*, pp. 815-848.

³Neuss, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

⁴Escorial Library, & II. 5, fol. 6.

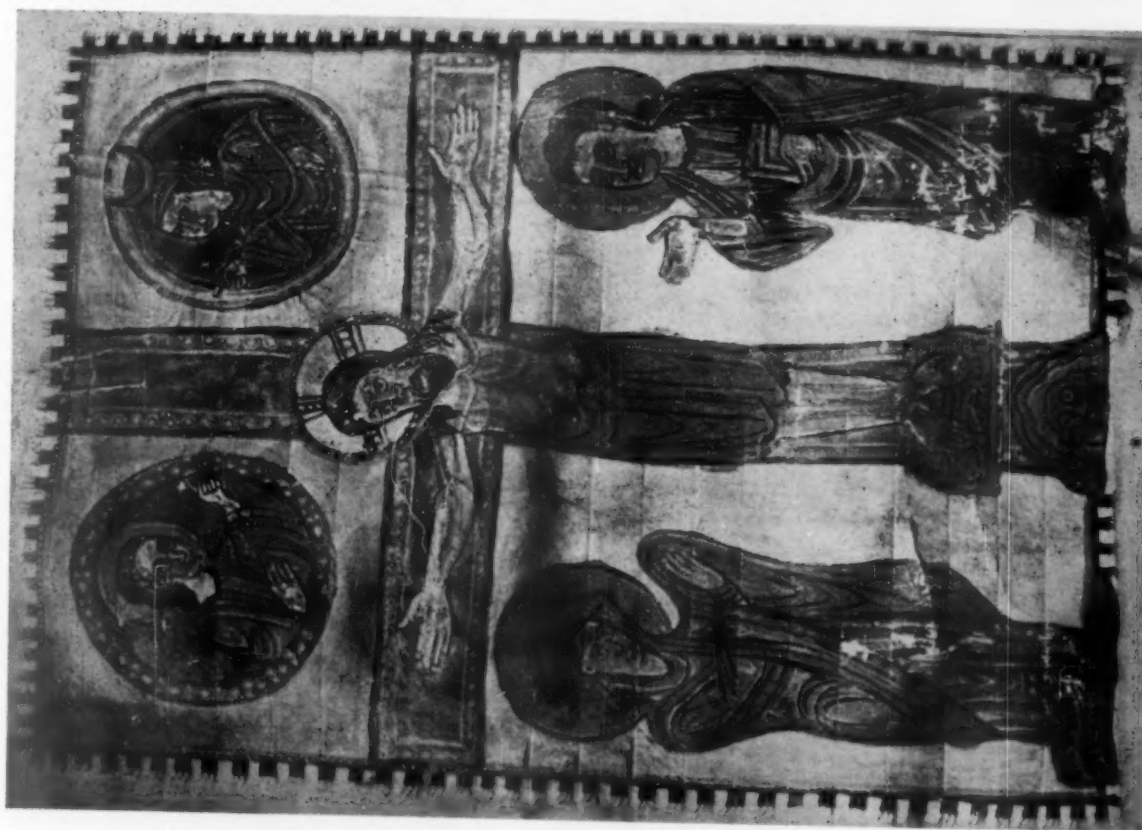


FIG. 6—VICH, EPISCOPAL MUSEUM: PAGE FROM CATALAN MS. XII CENTURY

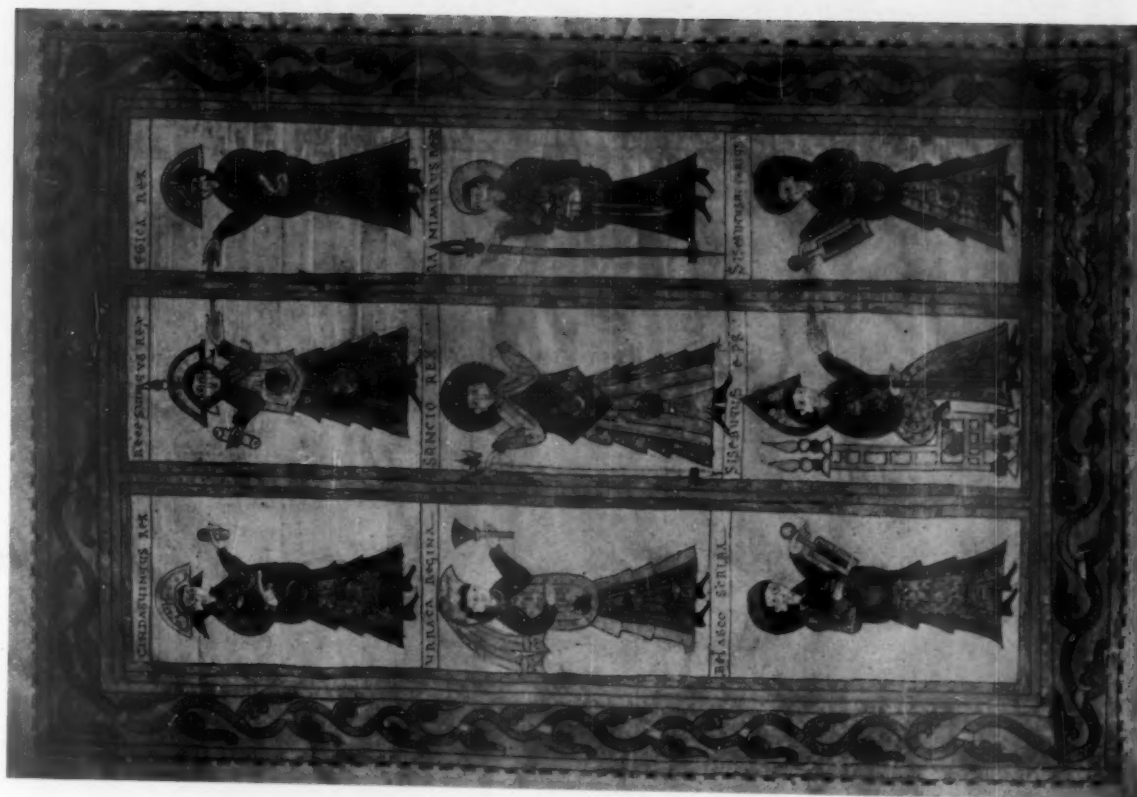


FIG. 7—ESCORIAL LIBRARY: CODEX AEMILIANENSIS, FOL. 453. X CENTURY



tunics worn by two of the Apostles in Fig. 1 are puffed upwards at both sides as if wired in place, an illogical rendering which lacks the motivation of such models as the tympanum of Moissac.¹ This hardened, thimble-like version is found elsewhere in Catalonia, as on the drapery of several figures in the frescoes of Sant Miquel de la Seo.² Another local drapery feature, and one seldom found in works outside this region, is seen on the figure of the beggar with whom St. Martin shares his mantle. The long leggings turned up around the ankles to form a cuff are somewhat like those worn by Castor and Pollux in a Ripoll manuscript of the eleventh century, now in the Vatican (Fig. 8). Equally characteristic of the Catalan manuscript style are the stiff, tube-like tunics, cut longer in the back than in front (Fig. 2). The same rigid garments appear in the *Moralia* of Gregory at Vich,³ in a thirteenth-century missal at Tortosa,⁴ and on several pages of the Gerona Homilies of Bede.⁵ An analysis of the technical methods employed by the artist in his delineation of drapery offers additional evidence of dependence upon manuscript models. The small dots and groups of parallel lines, also shown in the fresco of Sant Miquel de la Seo, are executed with fine brushes, evidently retaining the pen tradition of manuscript illumination.

The subdivision of the lateral compartments of our second panel (Fig. 2) into small rectangles, each surrounded by a heavy band of ornament, is not common in other Catalan panels. A similar arrangement appears, however, in the Mozarabic manuscripts of Leon-Castile, such as the *Vigilanus* of 976 and the *Aemilianensis* (Fig. 7), where each of the small rectangles encloses a single figure. The pyramidal grouping of the Apostles, so noticeable a feature of our first panel (Fig. 1), follows an ancient convention of placing one figure above another to represent a crowd. This arrangement appears as early as the second century on the column of Trajan and is continued throughout the Middle Ages as a well understood formula serving as a substitute for perspective. A good late eleventh or twelfth-century example may be seen in the Bible of Roda,⁶ and in the tenth-century Bible of Leon (Fig. 9) we find six figures grouped in the same pyramidal composition as in Fig. 1. The rigid, frontal stance of the Apostles, with feet turned outward, and the two groups of inclined heads, placed at equal distances from the vertical axis and carrying the eye toward the central figure of the Saviour, produce effective symmetry and balance.

The coloring is one of the most striking features of these panels. The use of an alternating sequence of red and yellow backgrounds, high in intensity, produces an æsthetic reaction similar to that given by the Mozarabic manuscript style. In both panels there is the same restricted palette of reds, yellows, greens, and blacks, resulting in a color contrast unique and unmistakably Spanish.

The date of our two panels has already been indicated by the numerous analogies to monuments of the middle or second half of the twelfth century. The source of some of the ornamental motives, such as the intersecting circles with foliate fillings, *rincaux*, animals within medallions, and perspective lozenges, has taken us back to Roman, Early Christian, and Carolingian prototypes. But it is noteworthy that, in each case, the particular form of the pattern which appears on these two panels is the late version used in manuscripts, stained glass, frescoes, and sculpture in the second half of the twelfth century and in the

¹The Art Bulletin, loc. cit., fig. 24.

²Pintures murals catalanes, pls. VII, IX, X.

³The Art Bulletin, loc. cit., fig. 15.

⁴Illustrated in Art Studies, vol. II, fig. 32.

⁵J. Sachs, in *Vell i Nou (primera epoca)*, V, pp. 291, 331, 335.

⁶The Art Bulletin, loc. cit., fig. 12.

thirteenth. The foliate scroll on the right of the frame of both panels is so similar to the strip of ornament at Ripoll that one wonders whether our artist did not copy this directly from the façade of the monastery immediately after the completion of the latter, about the middle of the century.

Such a date is confirmed by the drapery. We have noted that the hardened, thimble-like version of the Languedoc "flying fold" is analogous to that seen in Catalan art of the second half of the twelfth century, and that the stiff, tube-like tunic, with lining showing at the bottom, is found in the local manuscript style of the period. Lastly, the curving Moissac folds on the tunic of the Saviour show the persistence of the South French tradition, which appears also in the fresco from Santa Maria de Mur, now in the Boston Museum, which, as I have shown elsewhere, is not earlier than the second half of the twelfth century.¹

To this evidence may be added that of the unmistakably local facial types, the bullet heads with characteristic wide-spread nostrils, so closely paralleled in such Catalan illumination as the Crucifixion at Vich and the Gospels of Perpignan. But most convincing of all is the general feeling of style typical of the fully developed Romanesque. The evidence is so overwhelming that the dating of these two panels in the eleventh century, as suggested by Casellas and von Sydow,² or even in the beginning of the twelfth, as proposed by Mayer,³ must be rejected. A *terminus ad quem* is furnished by the palæography and the omission in the central compartments of the signs of the Evangelists, which are constant features of later Romanesque Majesties. Accordingly, we must conclude that these two altar-frontals, the product of the same atelier or the same artist, were painted about the middle of the twelfth century.

(4) The Iconography of the Globe-Mandorla

In the two panels discussed above the *Majestas Domini* is enthroned at the intersection of two circles or ellipses. Since this arrangement does not appear elsewhere among the Catalan antependia, its use here deserves special mention. The following discussion is in the nature of an excursus and will lead us somewhat far afield, but it is useful in giving an iconographic support to our conclusion as to the French influence evident in these two altar-frontals. The double-circle *motif* of our panels originated in the ninth century in the Carolingian school of St. Denis, where the intersection of the globe, on which the Saviour is enthroned, and the mandorla, placed behind the figure, produces a new iconographic type which we may call the globe-mandorla.

(A) The Hellenistic Globe Type

The earliest Hellenistic examples of the Saviour enthroned in Majesty show the figure of Christ as Logos or Emmanuel seated on the globe, or throne of heaven, in scenes of the *Traditio Legis*, the *Traditio Clavium*, or in the act of blessing the crowns of saints. The earliest extant monument which shows this globe type is a fourth-century mosaic in Santa Costanza at Rome.⁴ The Saviour, bearded and nimbed, is enthroned slightly below the upper rim of the sphere. He is giving the law to Moses, who stands on His right. The type is shown in Fig. 10, a catacomb fresco in the cemetery of Commodilla,

¹A. J. A., XXVII, 1923, pp. 63-64.

²Ramon Casellas, *Museum Notice*, Museum of Fine Arts, Barcelona; v. Sydow, *op. cit.*, p. 26, pl. I.

³Mayer, *op. cit.*, p. 21, fig. 101. No date is given by Puig y Cadafalch, *op. cit.*, III, figs. 756, 758.

⁴Garrucci, *op. cit.*, IV, pl. 207, 2. An excellent color plate is shown in W. Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1916, III, pl. 5, pp. 293 ff. According to Wilpert (*ibid.*, p. 591, n. 5) the Hellenistic globe of heaven on which the Saviour is enthroned was adopted by Early Christian artists from Classical models. Cf. W. de Grüneisen, *Sainte Marie Antique*, fig. 202.



FIG. 8—ROME, VATICAN LIBRARY: PAGE OF MS. FROM SANTA MARIA DE RIPOLL, REGINA LAT. 123. CASTOR AND POLLUX. MIDDLE XI CENTURY



FIG. 9—LEON, COLEGIATA DE SAN ISIDORO: PAGE FROM BIBLE OF LEON. DATED 960



dated by Wilpert in the seventh century.¹ Here the beardless Saviour, holding a large Book of the Gospels on His left knee, delivers the key to St. Peter, who stands beside Him at His right. An occasional variant appears in which the Saviour is not seated but stands on the sphere, as in a mosaic of the second half of the fourth century in the Baptistery of St. John at Naples.² In a seventh-century mosaic of San Teodoro at Rome³ the globe is studded with stars; this may be regarded as evidence that in these early Hellenistic examples Christ is seated on the sphere of heaven and not on the globe of earth. The artists were obviously inspired by such references as "The heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool" (Isaiah, 66, 1; Acts, 7, 49), "the Lord's throne is in heaven" (Psalms, 11, 4), and "neither by heaven; for it is God's throne: nor by the earth; for it is his footstool" (Matthew, 5, 34-35). This globe type with the seated Saviour was common in Italian mosaics, frescoes, ivories, and manuscripts from the fourth to the eighth century,⁴ and it is so restricted to Western monuments that it can be termed a distinct feature of the Latin style.⁵

From Italy the type spread northward into France and was adopted, together with other late Classic motives, by the early artists of the Carolingian Renaissance. A page from the late eighth-century Apocalypse of Trèves (Fig. 11) shows the Saviour seated as in Fig. 10 but accompanied by the twenty-four Elders of the Apocalypse.⁶ In the Stuttgart Psalter, of the same date,⁷ the feet of Christ are supported by a rectangular footstool, and, as Judge of the World, He holds a pair of scales in His right hand. The globe appears also in the first third of the ninth century in the Gospels of St. Victor of Xanten⁸ and the Utrecht Psalter⁹ and was an important element, as will be shown later, in the formation of a new type in the schools of Tours, Rheims, and St. Denis. It is significant, however, that the globe type (that is, the Hellenistic form, without a mandorla) does not occur in West Frankish illumination of the tenth and eleventh centuries. An occasional example is found in East Frankish schools, such as that shown by the title page of an eleventh-century Ottonian Book of the Gospels in the municipal library at Trèves (cod. lat. 23),¹⁰ which might easily have been inspired by such a model as that in the Trèves Apocalypse (Fig. 11). In this Ottonian manuscript the Saviour is enthroned slightly below the rim of the sphere, as in Fig. 10, but the artist has added a smaller globe which serves as a footstool for the Saviour's feet. Professor Clemen's statement that "*Der Salvator sitzt auf der Weltkugel*"¹¹ misses the significance of the two globes; the Ottonian artist has merely rendered with greater fidelity the scripture already cited: "The heaven is my throne, and the earth [*Weltkugel*] is my footstool."

¹Wilpert, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 945-6. An excellent color plate of this fresco is found in vol. IV, pls. 148-9.

²*Ibid.*, pl. 32, fig. 68.

³Garrucci, *op. cit.*, IV, pl. 252, 3.

⁴Additional examples which show this type are as follows. *Mosaics*: Rome, S. Agata in Subura, second half of V century (Garrucci, *op. cit.*, IV, pl. 240, 2); Ravenna, S. Vitale, c. 530-547 (*ibid.*, IV, pl. 258); Rome, S. Lorenzo, 578-590 (De Rossi, *Mosaici cristiani e saggi dei pavimenti delle chiese di Roma, anteriori al secolo XV*, Rome, 1899, pl. 16); Parenzo, cathedral, VI century (Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. 373). *Ivories*: Milan, cathedral, book-cover, c. 500 (Garrucci, *op. cit.*, VI, pl. 455). *Manuscripts*: Lavanthal, Austria, archives of the Benedictine abbey of St. Paul, Latin Ms. no. 53, VI century (?), written in Italy (Robert Eisler, *Die illuminierten Handschriften in Kärnten*, Leipzig, 1907, pl. VIII).

⁵See also E. Baldwin Smith, *Early Christian Iconography and a School of Ivory Carvers in Provence*, Princeton, 1918, p. 143.

⁶Another page from this manuscript has been illustrated by Clemen, *op. cit.*, fig. 46.

⁷H. Ehl, *Älteste deutsche Malerei*, Berlin, 1921, *Orbis Pictus*, vol. 10, p. 15.

⁸Boinet, *La miniature carolingienne*, pl. LX.

⁹Boinet, *op. cit.*, pl. LXIV.

¹⁰Clemen, *Die romanischen Monumentalmalerei in den Rheinlanden*, fig. 194.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 258. Cf. Wilpert, *op. cit.*, pp. 591-2.

The use of the globe as a seat for the *Majestas Domini* or for God the Father continued in Italian mosaics and frescoes long after the eighth century. Frequently in the later examples the figure is not seated in the frontal position, shown in Fig. 10, but in profile. Thus, in some of the Genesis scenes in the Basilica of St. Paul at Rome, the originals of which may date 891-896, God the Father is seated in profile on the globe (Creation of Adam and Creation of Eve),¹ and in one of the scenes, the Discovery of Adam and Eve, He is not seated but stands beside the globe of heaven.² The same profile position is followed on the walls of the tenth-century abbey church of St. Peter near Ferentillo (Creation of Adam),³ in the late eleventh-century fresco of S. Angelo in Formis (Woman taken in Adultery),⁴ in the Genesis scenes in the mosaics of the cathedral of Monreale,⁵ in an unknown church in Rome,⁶ and in the frescoes of the church of S. Giovanni a Porta Latina (1191-1198).⁷

In other sections of Europe, such as Southern and Central France and Catalonia, the globe was still in use during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In the Catalan Bible of Farfa (Fig. 12) the Saviour is enthroned in the old Hellenistic manner, His feet resting on a segment of the earth-globe; and a page from the Gerona Homilies of Bede (Fig. 13) shows an example of the globe type as late as the twelfth century. Moreover, the type was not restricted in its use to the Saviour and God the Father, since we find the globe employed as a seat for saints and other personages in the vestibule frescoes of the church of St. Savin⁸ and for Pope Damasus in the Bible of St. Martial of Limoges (Fig. 14). Even in the Romanesque period, however, the Hellenistic globe remained essentially a purely Latin type. It is found only in those regions which came directly or indirectly under the influence of late Latin or Italian models, and its appearance in any monument of Western Europe after the eighth or ninth century is evidence of Italian tradition.⁹

(B) The Oriental Mandorla

The second important element in the formation of the globe-mandorla type, shown on our two Catalan panels, is the mandorla. An early example of the oval mandorla, or glory, sometimes termed a large nimbus, is found in a fourth-century Liberian mosaic in S. Maria Maggiore at Rome (352-366). It surrounds one of the three angels who visit

¹Wilpert, *op. cit.*, II, p. 576, figs. 229, 230. Cf. also fig. 237. One of the earliest preserved examples which shows this profile position is found on the ivory book-cover in the cathedral of Milan (Garr. *op. cit.*, VI, pl. 455).

²*Ibid.*, II, fig. 236.

³*Ibid.*, fig. 233.

⁴Bertaux, *L'art dans l'Italie méridionale*, fig. 99.

⁵Gravina, *Monreale*, pls. 15 B-F.

⁶Wilpert, *op. cit.*, fig. 241, p. 597.

⁷*Ibid.*, pls. 252-255, fig. 234.

⁸Gélin-Didot and Laffillée, *op. cit.*, pl. 1, figs. A, B. Cf. also Apocalyptic scene illustrated in Mérimée, *Notice sur les peintures de l'église de Saint-Savin*, Paris, 1845, pl. 3.

⁹An instance of the force of this iconographic habit is afforded by an Ascension on a Byzantine ivory plaque in the Carrand collection, Bargello, Florence (Jules Labarte, *Histoire des arts industriels au moyen âge et à l'époque de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1864, I, pl. IX; Hans Graeven, *Frühchristliche und mittelalterliche Elfenbeinwerke in photographischer Nachbildung. Serie II. Aus Sammlungen in Italien*, Göttingen, 1898, pl. 34). The Ascension follows the usual Eastern type (see E. T. Dewald, *The Iconography of the Ascension*, in *A. J. A.*, XIX, 1915, pp. 282 ff.) and the inscription is written in Greek. However, Christ is not seated in an Eastern mandorla but on a star-covered globe supported by two angels. The two angels show Oriental influence, but the globe is a Hellenistic motif. Accordingly, we must conclude that the ivory was executed by a Byzantine artist resident in Italy who substituted the Italian globe for the traditional Eastern mandorla. Two northern ivories that show interesting versions of the globe type have been published by Goldschmidt. On an ivory book-cover made in the early X century in Belgium, now in Darmstadt (Grossherzogl. Museum, no. 509), Christ is seated on a circular wreath and His feet rest on the arc of the earth. On the book of the Gospels appears the inscription, "*data est mihi omnis potestas in celo et in terra*" (Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen*, I, pl. LXXIV, fig. 162). The same use of a wreath instead of a globe appears also on an ivory at Seitenstetten, Lower Austria, Stiftssammlung, which Goldschmidt dates 962-973 and assigns tentatively to the school of Milan or Reichenau (*ibid.*, II, pl. VI, fig. 16).



FIG. 10—ROME, CATACOMBS OF COMMODILLA: FRESCO. *The Traditio Clavium*. 668-685



FIG. 11—TRÈVES, MUNICIPAL LIBRARY: PAGE FROM THE APOCALYPSE OF TRÈVES, NO. 31. LATE VIII CENTURY



FIG. 12—ROME, VATICAN LIBRARY: PAGE FROM THE BIBLE OF FARFA. COD. VAT. LAT. 5729. XI CENTURY



Abraham, and in the same series of mosaics, in the scene of the stoning of Moses and his companions, these three figures are enclosed within an elliptical mandorla, or cloud.¹ St. Paulinus of Nola (fifth century) describes the large circular nimbus which surrounds the triumphal cross as a "*lucidus globus*," and his Greek contemporary, Palladius, refers to a similar glory as a "*trochôs purinos*."² In none of these examples, however, does the mandorla surround the figure of Christ. The earliest monuments which show the oval or elliptical mandorla in that use are found in the East, occurring in sixth-century scenes of the Ascension, the Transfiguration, and the *Majestas Domini*.

All the elements of the *Majestas* type are found in a miniature of the Rabula Gospel, written by the monk Rabula in the years 586-7 at Zagba, Mesopotamia.³ In the upper half of the scene of the Ascension a bearded and nimbed Christ stands within an oval mandorla; He holds a long scroll in His left hand and makes the gesture of benediction with His right. The mandorla is supported at the top by two angels, and two others, one on either side of the mandorla, offer crowns of glory on veiled hands. Beneath the mandorla are four wings filled with eyes, the heads of the Evangelistic symbols, and two pairs of whirling wheels covered with fire; a hand emerging from the wings points downward to the orant Virgin and the group of Apostles.

In Palestine⁴ the formula is simplified. In scenes of the Ascension on the sixth-century encolpia, or oil flasks, preserved in the cathedral treasury at Monza the nimbed and bearded Saviour does not stand but is seated on a throne, and He holds a square Book of the Gospels instead of a scroll. On one encolpium the mandorla is held by two angels,⁵ as in the Rabula Gospel, but on the other preserved examples four angels are employed,⁶ an iconographic feature which in later centuries became especially common in Western Europe.⁷

The *Majestas Domini* type with throne and mandorla was inspired by passages from the visions of Isaiah (6), Ezekiel (1; 10), Daniel (7), and Revelation (4). The glory, or mandorla, is described as "a rainbow round about the throne, in sight like unto an emerald" (Rev., 4, 3) and "as the appearance of the bow that is in the cloud in the day of rain" (Ezekiel, 1, 28). The Rabula Gospel version shows the Eastern conception of Ezekiel's vision of God, each detail of which was the subject of mystical interpretation and exegesis by the early church fathers.⁸

¹Wilpert, *op. cit.*, III, pls. 10, 21. According to Wilpert (*op. cit.*, p. 97) the earliest appearance of a mandorla or cloud in Early Christian art is found in the second half of the II century in a catacomb fresco (Sacramentary chapel A 2). The mandorla, or nimbus, is round, and Wilpert states that this is the only extant example in the early catacomb frescoes.

²*Ibid.*, I, pp. 99-100.

³Garrucci, *op. cit.*, III, pl. 139, 2.

⁴There is reason to believe that the Ascension type used in the Rabula Gospel originated in Asia Minor.

⁵*Ibid.*, pl. 433, 8.

⁶*Ibid.*, pls. 433, 10; 434, 2, 3; 435, 1.

⁷A list of monuments showing the mandorla supported by four angels has been compiled by Wilhelm Vöge (*Eine deutsche Malerschule um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends*, Trier, 1891, p. 269, n. 3).

⁸Origen interprets the vision in his Homilies on the Book of Ezekiel as a picture of the power of God over the world of the spirit (Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, 13, coll. 665-767, Hom. I, 13). Apollinarius, the younger, of Laodicea, also considers the vision as an expression of the might of God (Wilhelm Neuss, *Das Buch Ezechiel in Theologie und Kunst bis zum Ende des XII. Jahrhunderts*, Münster in Westf., 1912, pp. 48-49). And Theodoret, the last of the great Fathers of Antioch, whose Commentary was composed before the year 436, states that "the brightness of the Saviour shows that He is near, the fire shows that He cannot be approached. He Himself is light. . . . He stands in the middle of the rainbow" (*ibid.*, pp. 51 ff.). According to Ephraim the Syrian, who lived in Mesopotamia during the first quarter of the fourth century, the form of the person on the throne is a symbol of Emmanuel, who became a human being, who revealed Himself in His godlike majesty. The throne and the firmament are a symbol of the power of the angels, and the throne is a symbol of thrones, of seraphim and cherubim (*ibid.*, p. 61). Jacob of Sarug, Syrian theologian and poet (451-521) states in his Homilies that the four wheels which bear the Son of God run with great power to the four corners of the earth and the Gospels are borne throughout the entire universe. The four cherubim who bear Him in triumph are the Apostles, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. They have several faces, signifying the different peoples to whom they preach. The hand which appears beneath the wings is the right hand of God, which He gave to the Apostles, a hand which washes all sin from the world (*ibid.*, pp. 80-81). According to St. John

Due chiefly to the close ecclesiastical and doctrinal connections between the religious establishments of Upper Egypt and Syria during the sixth and seventh centuries, the art of Coptic Egypt was at this time less subject to influences from Alexandria and more closely approximated the Asiatic art of Syria and Palestine in style, ornament, and iconography. It is not surprising, then, that the Oriental type of throne and mandorla that we have studied in the Asiatic examples is abundantly illustrated in Coptic frescoes and sculpture. An Ascension at Bawit (chapel XVII)¹ shows a mandorla which forms an almost perfect circle, enclosing a beardless Christ seated on a large, richly ornamented throne with bolster and footstool. The mandorla is not supported by angels, but an angel on either side of the Saviour offers a votive crown of glory as in the Rabula Gospel. The presence of the wings filled with eyes, the Evangelistic symbols, and the whirling wheels shows that the composition was inspired by the vision of Ezekiel. A similar mandorla is employed for the Ezekiel vision in chapel XXVI at Bawit² and for two representations of the *Majestas Domini* at Saqqara.³ The throne on which the Saviour is seated in Coptic art usually has a large bolster and footstool and is richly decorated with jewels, similarly to the thrones in the early mosaics of Rome and Ravenna.⁴ By this device the enthroned figure is invested with a regal dignity.

A typical Eastern mandorla is illustrated in a Bawit fresco (Fig. 15) by an early example of the Madonna type known later in Byzantine art as the *Blacherniotissa*. Within an oval mandorla held by the enthroned Virgin a diminutive figure of Christ is seated, holding the Book of the Gospels and making the gesture of benediction. This iconographic type, which is seen also in the monastery of Apa Jeremias at Saqqara (niche 1723),⁵ on a page of the Etschmiadzin Gospel,⁶ on a fragment of a Monza phial,⁷ and on a seventh-century lead medallion of Constantine II,⁸ appears in Italy during the eighth and ninth centuries.⁹

Chrysostom, whose Commentaries on Ezekiel were composed before the year 436, the highest spirits cannot see God, since the cherubim cover Him with their wings; the cherubim are even higher for they are the throne of God, and the throne of God rests on the cherubim (Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, 48, coll. 725 ff.). St. Jerome, like Origen, interprets the vision as a symbol of the power and knowledge of God, a revelation of His foresight and world dominion. The Son rules in the Father, and the Father and Son rule from the same throne. The firmament is of ice, frozen from the clearest water, a symbol of God's purity. The blue sapphire throne above the firmament contains the secrets of God's being, and the rainbow about the throne is a symbol of His mercy and His covenant with man (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, 25, coll. 15-32). St. Jerome emphasizes the person of Christ and the Four Evangelists. In this respect he was followed by St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, and Sedulius in the *Carmen Paschale*. St. Gregory explains the brightness round about the throne as the light which the Apostles carried into the world. The glowing metal and the appearance of fire is Christ, who is made of the gold of God and the silver of man, and who is surrounded by the fire of persecution. The four wings signify the four parts of the world into which the word of God is carried, and the rainbow round about the vision of God is the power of the Holy Ghost after the Incarnation (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, 76, coll. 785-1072).

¹Jean Clédat, *Le monastère et la nécropole de Baouît*, in *Mémoires de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire*, XII, Cairo, 1904, pls. XL-XLIV.

²*Ibid.*, pls. XC, XCI.

³J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara* (1907-1908), *Service des antiquités de l'Égypte*, III, Cairo, 1909, frontispiece; pls. VIII, X (4).

⁴Italian examples are found in the following churches: Rome—S. Prudenziana (402-417) (Wilpert, *op. cit.*, III, pls. 42-44); S. Maria Maggiore (432-440), throne of Herod (*ibid.*, III, pls. 61, 62, 69), arch (De Rossi, *op. cit.*, pl. IV); SS. Cosmas and Damian, apse (*ibid.*, pl. XV); Ravenna—Orthodox Baptistery (449-458) (Wilpert, *op. cit.*, III, pl. 81); Baptistery of the Arians (c. 520) (*ibid.*, III, pl. 101). S. Prisco—S. Matrona (first half of V century) (*ibid.*, III, pl. 77).

⁵J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara* (1908-9, 1909-10), *The Monastery of Apa Jeremias*, *Service des antiquités de l'Égypte*, IV, Cairo, 1912, pl. XXV.

⁶Josef Strzygowski, *Byzantinische Denkmäler*, I, *Das Etschmiadzin-Evangelium*, Vienna, 1891, pl. VI, 1.

⁷Garrucci, *op. cit.*, VI, pl. 479, 4.

⁸Cabrol, *Dictionnaire*, II, 2, fig. 2151, col. 2303. The lead medallion, or seal, decorated with the figures of Constantine II, Pogonatus, Heraclius, and Tiberius, is dated between the years 658 and 668.

⁹In the Italian examples (frescoes) the Virgin is invariably seated, e. g.: Volturmo, church of S. Vincenzo (Grüneisen, *op. cit.*, p. 267); Rome, S. Maria Antiqua, fresco on the right wall, in which the Virgin is accompanied by Sts. Anne and Elizabeth (*ibid.*, fig. 84; Wilpert, *op. cit.*, IV, pl. 194, p. 100), assigned by Grüneisen to the IX century (p. 267), by Wilpert to the VIII; Subiaco, church of Sagro Speco, lower chapel, dated by Grüneisen in the IX century (*op. cit.*, fig. 220, p. 267). In the Bawit example shown in Fig. 15 the mandorla and Child are held slightly to one side, whereas in the other examples mentioned the Child is held directly on the vertical axis.



FIG. 13—GERONA, CHURCH OF SAN FELIU: PAGE FROM THE HOMILIES OF BEDE. SECOND HALF XII CENTURY



FIG. 14—LIMOGES: PAGE FROM THE BIBLE OF ST. MARTIAL OF LIMOGES. ST. JEROME AND POPE DAMASUS



A bracelet amulet in the Fouquet collection at Cairo shows a mandorla of the Ascension which is not oval but pointed at top and bottom.¹ This is unusual, however, since the oval and circular types are prevalent in Coptic art.²

The art of Byzantium drew from all East-Christian sources, and iconographic features were derived from Anatolia, Syria, Palestine, and Alexandria. Two common types of the *Majestas* persisted throughout the entire history of Byzantine art. The distinguishing feature in each case is the seat on which the Saviour is enthroned within the oval or circular mandorla.³ In the first of the two types He is seated on a richly ornamented throne, with bolster and footstool, similar to the throne that we have noted in Coptic Egypt. Illustrations of this type are found in the pages of the *Cosmas Indicopleustes*, a ninth-century manuscript copied probably in Constantinople after a sixth-century Alexandrian model. In the scene of the Resurrection of the Dead (Book V, *Concordia testamentorum*, fol. 89)⁴ Christ is seated in the firmament on a wide throne, with bolster and footstool, surrounded by a mandorla similar in shape to that in the Rabula Gospel and on the Monza phials. As Judge of the World, Christ holds the Book of the Gospels on His left knee and raises His right hand in benediction. Below appear groups of angels, men, and busts of the dead who are coming to life. This first type of throne is seen again in the vision of Ezekiel in the same manuscript (fol. 74),⁵ where the Saviour is surrounded by a circular mandorla composed of three bands of color, the outer band, fiery red, the intermediate, green, and the inner, sapphire blue. In the vision of Isaiah (fol. 72v) Christ is seated on an elaborate throne without the mandorla.⁶ A similar, but even richer, type of throne appears in the vision of Isaiah on a page from the Sermons of St. Gregory of Nazianzus (Paris, Bibl. Nat., gr. 510, fol. 67v),⁷ a manuscript written at Constantinople between the years 880 and 886. In this case the throne has a high back as well as a footstool. It is unnecessary, however, to multiply illustrations of this type; they may be found abundantly in Byzantine ivories, mosaics, and manuscripts.⁸

¹Jean Maspero, *Bracelets-amulettes*, in *Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte*, Cairo, 1908, IX, fig. 1, pp. 246 ff.

²Cairo, wooden lintel over the entrance of the church of al-Mu-allaka, dated by Strzygowski in the VIII century (*Röm. Quartalschr.*, XII, 1898, pl. II, pp. 14-22); Deir-es-Suriani, X-century fresco of the Ascension (J. Strzygowski, *Der Schmuck der älteren el-Hadrakirche im syrischen Kloster der sketischen Wüste, Oriens Christ.*, I, pp. 360-361); mutilated fresco of the *Majestas* in the east apse of the White Convent, near Sohag (W. de Bock, *Matériaux pour servir à l'archéologie de l'Égypte chrétienne*, Petrograd, 1901, pl. XXI); mandorla containing a large triumphal cross with a *pallium contabulatum* folded over the arms of the cross, painted by the monk Theodore in the south apse of the same church (*ibid.*, pl. XXII); mutilated fresco of a *Majestas* in the monastery of the Martyrs, near Esneh, sanctuary XIV (*ibid.*, pl. XXX, pp. 76, 77).

³The oval mandorla without the arc was employed also, to surround the standing figure of the Saviour, not only in the Ascension, but also in the scenes of the Transfiguration and the Harrowing of Hell. For examples of its use in the Transfiguration see Gabriel Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'évangile aux XIVe, XVe, et XVIe siècles*, Paris, 1916, figs. 181-200; Dalton, *op. cit.*, figs. 225, 410; *Röm. Quartalschr.*, 1914, fig. 18. Its use in the Harrowing of Hell is well illustrated by the South Italian Exultet Rolls (Venturi, *op. cit.*, III, figs. 669, 677-680). See also Charles R. Morey, *East Christian Paintings in the Freer Collection*, New York, 1914, pp. 45 ff., and the list published by Vöge (*Eine deutsche Malerschule*, p. 267, n. 1). Its use in Italy in the X century is shown by a fresco in S. Clemente, Rome (Wilpert, *op. cit.*, IV, pl. 229, 2). Cf. also the Chludoff Psalter, fol. 63v (J. J. Tikkanen, *Die Psalterillustration im Mittelalter, I, Die Psalterillustration in der Kunstgeschichte*, Helsingfors, 1895, fig. 76).

⁴Cosimo Stornajolo, *Le miniature della topografia cristiana di Cosima Indicopleuste, codice vaticano greco 699, Codices e vaticanis selecti*, X, Milan, 1908, pl. 49, pp. 45-46.

⁵*Ibid.*, pl. 39, p. 41.

⁶*Ibid.*, pl. 37.

⁷H. Omont, *Fac-similés des miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1902, pl. XXV.

⁸E. g., Berlin Museum, ivory book-cover, X century (Wilhelm Vöge, *Königliche Museen zu Berlin, Beschreibung der Bildwerke der christlichen Epochen. Die Elfenbeinbildwerke*, Berlin, 1900, no. 8, pl. 5); Ravenna Museum, carved ivory panel, XII century (Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, fig. 12); Palermo, La Martorana, mosaic, XII century (*ibid.*, fig. 240); Capua cathedral, enamel reliquary (Venturi, *Storia . . .*, II, fig. 488); Paris Bibl. Nat., miniatures of the Last Judgment in Gr. MS. 74 (H. Omont, *Évangiles avec peintures Byzantines du XI siècle*, Paris, pls. 41, 81); Salerno cathedral, miniature of Exultet Roll (Venturi, *op. cit.*, III, fig. 671). A typical Italian example of the XIII century is shown in the frescoes of the Last Judgment by Pietro Cavallini in S. Cecilia in Trastevere, Rome, c. 1293 (Wilpert, *op. cit.*, IV, pls. 279-281). The elaborate throne is also frequently employed without the mandorla.

The type of Byzantine *Majestas* which is even more familiar to students of Western art shows the Saviour seated, not on a throne, as in the preceding examples, but on an arc, or "rainbow arch," as it is often called. An early monument showing this type is an Ascension in the dome of the church of Hagia Sophia at Salonika.¹ The Saviour is seated on an arc which passes slightly below the center of the circular mandorla, and His feet rest on a smaller concentric arc.

This use of an arc as a seat introduces into Eastern iconography a new element, the origin of which is obscure. The rainbow arch does not appear in any of the extant proto-Byzantine monuments from Anatolia, and we have already noted that in the Palestinian and Coptic examples Christ is seated on a throne. Nevertheless, evidence for a Syro-Palestinian origin is furnished by a drawing in the Pozzo collection at Windsor Castle (Fig. 16) copied from a lost encolpium of about the year 600.² In the scene of the Ascension the Saviour is not seated on a throne, as in the extant Monza pials, which we have already studied, but on an arc, as in the Salonika mosaic. The oval mandorla in the drawing is supported by four angels, and the similarity of the general composition to those on the extant ampullæ is striking. The Pozzo drawing shows slight iconographic inconsistencies, such as the omission of the nimbi and the substitution of an Apostle for the usual figure of the Virgin, but in other respects it reproduces the Syro-Palestinian Ascension so faithfully that it is less probable that the copyist substituted the arc for a throne. Additional evidence in favor of a Palestinian origin for the arc is furnished by an Ascension, with the Saviour seated on an arc, painted on the wooden reliquary in the Sancta Sanctorum at Rome.³ The panel is dated as late as the tenth century, but all five scenes represented on it are iconographically derived from early Syro-Palestinian prototypes.

Having observed the various compositions used with the Oriental mandorla, we may investigate their penetration into Western art. The popular Byzantine type of Christ seated on the arc, which is found in Byzantine manuscripts,⁴ mosaics,⁵ and ivories,⁶ appears in Italy as early as the ninth century,⁷ and in the eleventh century it is found not only in Ottonian illumination, which was especially subject to Byzantine

¹Dalton, *op. cit.*, fig. 222.

²E. B. Smith, *A lost Encolpium and some notes on Early Christian Iconography*, in *Byz. Zeitschr.*, XXIII, 1914, pp. 217-225.

³P. Lauer, *Le trésor du Sancta Sanctorum*, in *Foundation Piot, Monuments et Mémoires*, XV, 1907, pl. XIV, 2, pp. 97-99. It should be noted that the Saviour in the Ascension shown on the ciborium columns in the church of St. Mark's, Venice, appears to be seated on an arc within a small mandorla supported by two angels (Garrucci, *op. cit.*, pl. 498, 2).

⁴Rome, Vatican Library, Gr. MS. no. 1927, fol. 202v, Ascension (Tikkanen, *op. cit.*, fig. 91); Greek Psalter, fol. 63, Ascension (*ibid.*, fig. 81); Paris, Bibl. Nat., Syriac Evangeliary, XII-XIII century, Ascension (*Foundation Piot, Monuments et Mémoires*, XIX, pl. XVIII, pp. 208-209).

⁵Florence, cathedral works, mosaic (G. Millet, *L'art Byzantin*, in Michel's *Histoire de l'art chrétien*, I, fig. 112); Torcello, cathedral, mosaic, XI century, Last Judgment (Dalton, *op. cit.*, fig. 427).

⁶London, Br. Mus., ivory panel, Ezekiel and the dry bones (Dalton, *op. cit.*, fig. 135); Berlin Museum, ivory book-cover, XII century, Ascension (Vöge, *op. cit.*, no. 27, pl. XI); Rome, Barberini collection, ivory panel, Ascension (Graeven, *Elfenbeinwerke, Series II, Aus Sammlungen in Italien*, Göttingen, 1898, pl. 55); Paris, Cluny Museum, ivory plaque, XII century, no. 1051 (Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, III, pl. XXVI, fig. 75a); ivory formerly in London Loan Exhibition, Last Judgment (*Nuov. bull. arch. crist.*, VIII, illustration on p. 173; Venturi, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 422); Stuttgart, Kunstkammer, ivory plaque, Ascension (Venturi, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 441); Copenhagen, Royal Museum, bone cross, XI century (?) (Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, III, pl. XLIV, fig. 124b). For others in ivory see Goldschmidt, vol. III. *passim*. A late example is found in Rome, sacristy of St. Peter's, on an embroidered dalmatic, XIV century (Dalton, *op. cit.*, fig. 380).

⁷Rome, Basilica of S. Clemente, fresco (847-855), Ascension on face of arch (Wilpert, *op. cit.*, IV, pl. 210); Rome, Basilica of S. Maria in Domnica, mosaic, *Majestas* (De Rossi, *Mosaici*, pl. XXIII); frontispiece of a manuscript of the Rule of St. Benedict, copied at Capua between 914 and 933 (Bertaux, *op. cit.*, fig. 80); Benevento, cathedral, bronze door (Venturi, III, *op. cit.*, III, fig. 651). A late XII-century example in Italy is illustrated in fresco in the Last Judgment on the walls of S. Giovanni a Porta Latina (1191-1198) (Wilpert, *op. cit.*, IV, pl. 256). For a brief discussion of the type in Italy see *ibid.*, II, pp. 1134, n. 1; 1194).



FIG. 15—Bawit, Chapel XXVIII: COPTIC FRESCO. BLACHERNIOTISSA



FIG. 16—WINDSOR, ROYAL LIBRARY:
DRAWING OF AN ENCOLPIUM



FIG. 17—AUTUN, LIBRARY: GUDOTHINUS
GOSPELS, MS. NO. 3, FOL. 12B. VIII
CENTURY



FIG. 18—ROME, VATICAN LIBRARY: PAGE FROM THE BIBLE OF FARFA.
COD. VAT. LAT. 5729. XI CENTURY



influence, but also in England (cf. Fig. 26), Northern France, and Catalonia. The influence of Byzantine or Italo-Byzantine iconography in Catalan art is strikingly demonstrated by the Gospel pages of the Bible of Farfa. In the scene of the Ascension shown in Fig. 18 the Saviour is enthroned on the arc within a mandorla borne by two flying angels, while the Virgin, Apostles, and angels appear below. The composition of this scene is almost identical with that which we have found in the Syro-Palestinian examples, such as the Rabula Gospel and the Monza phials. The arc points to Byzantine or Italo-Byzantine models (cf. mosaic in Hagia Sophia at Salonica); the agitated movement and lively gesture betray the local inspiration of the Catalan painter.

The close ties which bound Rome to the East from the fifth to the eighth century resulted in a gradual infiltration of Oriental thought and artistic traditions into the Hellenistic West. The secular clergy became more Greek in character, Greek artists and monks were imported into Southern Italy and the Eternal City, and Greek members of the Roman clergy became occupants of the Holy See itself. A good example of the mixture of Hellenistic and Oriental elements in art is furnished by the fifth-century wooden doors of S. Sabina at Rome. In the scene of the Ascension¹ Christ stands as in the Rabula Gospel, accompanied by the symbols of the four Evangelists. The mandorla is not elliptical, like those we have found in Syria and Palestine, but it forms a perfect circle, such as some we have discussed in Coptic and Byzantine art. This feature, the circular mandorla, persists in all the Orientalized Western versions during the seventh and eighth centuries.² The seated *Majestas* type, which is even more common than that in which Christ stands, is illustrated by a page from the Codex Amiatinus, now in the Laurentian Library.³ The enthroned Saviour, accompanied by two angels, is enclosed within a circular mandorla composed of concentric bands of color. Outside are the four Evangelists and their symbols. This manuscript, which was probably written about the year 700 at Jarrow or Wearmouth in England, may have been copied after a model imported from the *scriptorium* of Cassiodorus' abbey in Southern Italy. During the sixth and seventh centuries this monastery, near Squillace, was a center of culture where not only the scriptures and their commentators but also the masterpieces of pagan antiquity were studied and copied.⁴ From such an artistic center as this, which served as a clearing house for the East and West, the earliest copies of the written Word were carried into the the newly evangelized regions of Northern France and the British Isles.

This Orientalized version of the *Majestas* is illustrated in Fig. 17, a page from the Merovingian Gospels of Autun, written by the scribe Gudohinus between 751 and 754. Two angels accompany the Saviour as in the Codex Amiatinus, but the mandorla is much simplified, the Evangelists are omitted, and their symbols are shown in small tangent medallions.⁵ The composition and iconography are modelled after such a manuscript as the Amiatinus, but the drapery and figures reflect the late Latin style whose

¹Venturi, *op. cit.*, I, fig. 322.

²According to Wilpert the oldest example in Rome of the circular mandorla is found on the triumphal arch of S. Maria Maggiore (432-440) (*op. cit.*, I, p. 56; III, pls. 70-72). For a discussion of the firmament of heaven see Grüneisen, *op. cit.*, pp. 231 ff.

³Zimmermann, *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen*, III, pl. 222 b, pp. 262-4.

⁴Thomas Hodgkin, *The Letters of Cassiodorus*, London, 1886, pp. 54-55.

⁵The use of Evangelistic symbols within medallions is found in other monuments of Southern or Central France: viz., ivory book-covers, Milan cathedral (E. B. Smith, *op. cit.*, figs. 155, 156); wooden pulpit of Ste.-Radegonde, VI century (Cabrol, *Dictionnaire*, "Agneau," col. 887); Codex Purpureus, Munich (Boinet, *op. cit.*, pl. II); Poitiers, Municipal library, MS. no. 174, Gospels from the Abbey of Ste.-Croix, early IX century (Cahier, *Nouveaux mélanges d'archéologie, Ivoires*, p. 112); Apocalypse, Valenciennes, Municipal Library, MS. no. 99, (Boinet, *op. cit.*, pl. CLVII); Trèves, Municipal Library, MS. no. 23. A similar use of medallions is found later in the school of Tours, where the bust of the four Major Prophets appear in the corners of the page, as shown by the Bamberg Bible (*ibid.*, pl. XXIX).

most familiar example is the illustration of the second Vatican Virgil. This type was employed not only in manuscripts but in stone sculpture as well. On one side of the altar of Pemmone, in the church of S. Martino at Cividale, which Venturi attributes to the eighth century,¹ the Saviour is enthroned within a mandorla supported by four flying angels, similar to those found in Syria and Palestine. The cherubim that stand inside the mandorla on either side of the throne, as the angels in the Codex Amiatinus and in Fig. 17, have outstretched hands, and wings filled with eyes, Eastern features derived from the vision of Ezekiel.

The adoption of new iconographic types during the Carolingian Renaissance did not entirely destroy this Merovingian version common during the seventh and eighth centuries. It continued during the ninth century, and even later in the more conservative regions of Western Europe, as did the Hellenistic globe type. In the Gospels of Lorsch, an Ada manuscript of the first quarter of the ninth century,² the four symbols of the Evangelists are placed within small medallions on the richly ornamented mandorla. The two angels are omitted from within the mandorla. This Ada version seems to have served as a model for later Ottonian artists of the school of Reichenau, inasmuch as it appears in the late-tenth-century Gospels of Darmstadt³ and in the Heidelberg Sacramentary.⁴ In such outlying regions as Northern Spain we find as late as the tenth century a style and iconography that revert to pre-Carolingian models. In the Commentary of Beatus on the Apocalypse, a manuscript executed in the school of the Asturias about the year 900, now in Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan's library at New York, several pages illustrate this type. In Fig. 19, which depicts the opening of the sixth seal (Rev., 6, 12-17), the star-covered mandorla is supported by two angels, a cherub and a seraph, and two Elders on either side gaze at the beardless Hellenistic Saviour.⁵ In Southern Italy also the type persists late, as shown by an Exultet Roll in the John Rylands Library at Manchester, which is dated in the late tenth or the eleventh century.⁶

Summary of Pre-Carolingian Types. At this point a brief recapitulation of the chief *Majestas* types which appear prior to the ninth century will not be out of place. We have noted two general divisions, or groups, of monuments, the Hellenistic, or Western, and the Oriental. In the Hellenistic the Saviour, as Emmanuel or Logos, is enthroned on the globe of heaven, a type restricted to Italy and regions subject to Italian influence in the Latin West. In the East, on the other hand, the seated or standing Christ, usually appearing in the scene of the Ascension, is surrounded by an oval mandorla supported by two angels and is accompanied by the symbols of the Evangelists, wings filled with eyes, cherubim, seraphim, fiery whirling wheels, and the downward pointing hand. Evolved under the influence of Eastern liturgy and the mystical interpretations of the Ezekiel vision by Origen, Ephraim the Syrian, Jacob of Sahrug, and other patristic writers

¹*Op. cit.*, II, fig. 107, p. 180.

²Boinet, *op. cit.*, pl. XVI, B.

³Adolf von Oechelhaeuser, *Die Miniaturen der Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Heidelberg*, 1887, pl. 9.

⁴*Ibid.*, pl. I; *The Art Bulletin*, II, fig. 8.

⁵The same type of Enthroned Saviour and mandorla appears on other folios of this manuscript: fol. 83, mandorla is unsupported; fol. 87, mandorla is labelled *tronum* and supported by a cherub and a seraph; fol. 219b, the same; fol. 223, mandorla is elliptical and is flanked on either side by the twenty-four Elders; fol. 231b, it is supported by two angels. The type is found in other Beatus MSS., such as the Girona MS., fol. 219b (Neuss, *Katalanische Bibelillustration*, fig. 37).

⁶Montague Rhodes James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Latin Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library at Manchester*, London, 1921, II, pl. 3, no. 2. Nothing illustrates better the manner in which the late Latin style continued in Italy than the *retardataire* illustration of this Exultet Roll. The Enthroned Christ and Angels might have been copied directly from the Codex Amiatinus and they furnish an excellent illustration of the identity of the sources from which schools of Northumbria and of Southern Italy drew.



FIG. 19—NEW YORK, MORGAN LIBRARY: PAGE FROM THE COMMENTARY OF BEATUS ON THE APOCALYPSE. OPENING OF THE SIXTH SEAL. C. 900



FIG. 20—PARIS, BIBL. NAT.: GOSPEL OF LE MANS, FOL. 18. C. 875-880



FIG. 21—PARIS, BIBL. NAT.: FIRST BIBLE OF CHARLES THE BALD (VIVIEN BIBLE), FOL. 329B. MIDDLE IX CENTURY



of the schools of Alexandria and Antioch, this type penetrated Coptic Egypt and Byzantium.

In the art of Byzantium two common formulæ have been noted: one in which Christ is seated on an elaborate throne and another in which He sits on the rainbow arch. The Byzantine rainbow arch may have been derived from some lost Syro-Palestinian prototype, but, whatever its origin, it appears in Italy in the ninth century and was later freely employed by Western artists. We have also found in Rome as early as the fifth century a simplified version of the Oriental type (door of S. Sabina), which during the seventh and eighth centuries was disseminated throughout Western Europe as far north as Northumbria (Codex Amiatinus). This was employed not only in manuscripts but also in relief sculpture. In these Western adaptations of an Oriental model the Saviour is enthroned in a circular instead of an elliptical mandorla, the *Majestas Domini* does not necessarily appear as part of the Ascension, and many mystical elements of the Ezekiel vision, such as the whirling wheels, the wings filled with eyes, and the downward pointing hand are often omitted; attention is focussed upon the enthroned Christ and the four Evangelists.

(C) The Carolingian Globe-Mandorla

The artistic, intellectual, and religious revival fostered during the ninth century under the personal encouragement of Charlemagne and his sons was essentially derivative and composite in character. Late Classical and Western manuscripts from Northumbria and Rome, as well as Eastern manuscripts from Byzantium and Syria, were imported as models to be copied and multiplied by French artists. Eastern and Western elements were freely combined in the new illuminated manuscripts produced in the monastic scriptoria, and one aspect of this mingling of East and West is shown in the treatment of the *Majestas Domini*, wherein the Carolingian artist combines the Latin globe with the Eastern mandorla to form a new iconographic type. This new type of globe-mandorla in its fully developed form is best illustrated in the school of St. Denis. But in order to understand the St. Denis globe-mandorla we must first trace the early stages of its evolution in other Carolingian schools, especially those of Tours and Rheims.

Tours, Type A. In examples from the school of Tours the Saviour is seated on the Hellenistic globe, and in the group which we classify as *type A* He is surrounded by an oval or a pointed mandorla. The enclosing elliptical mandorla does not touch the globe at its base in the Bible of Moutier-Grandval (known as the Alcuin Bible; fol. 352v),¹ in the Gospels of Prüm,² nor in the Gospels of Le Mans (Fig. 20).³ On the other hand, in the Gospels of Lothaire,⁴ of the second quarter of the ninth century, and in the Gospels of Dufay,⁵ a quarter of a century later, the mandorla is pointed at top and bottom and is tangent to the globe. Christ is bearded, in the Eastern fashion, in the Gospels of Lothaire, but all the other examples mentioned show the beardless Hellenistic type. In all these manuscripts Christ is seated on the rim of the globe, as in Early Christian mosaics and frescoes (cf. Fig. 10); in His left hand He holds the Book of the Gospels, which rests on his knee, and with His right hand He either makes the gesture of benediction or holds aloft a small disc or "ball of the world." In most cases the feet of the Saviour rest on the globe

¹Boinet, *op. cit.*, pl. XLV.

²*Ibid.*, pl. XXXVI.

³S. Berger, *Histoire du Vulgate*, pp. 402, 252; Beissel, *Geschichte der Evangelienbücher in der ersten Hälfte des Mittelalters*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1906, pp. 191-2.

⁴Boinet, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXI.

⁵*Ibid.*, pl. LVI.

as shown in Fig 20, but in the Bible of Moutier-Grandval the earth is suggested by an irregular patch of earth painted on the globe, and in the Gospels of Prüm the artist employs a curving arc, which intersects the base of the globe. In this last example stars appear on the globe and mandorla, and on the background are sun and moon as well as stars. Stars are seen inside the mandorla in Fig. 20, and in both these manuscripts appears the inscription "*Hac sedet arce deus, mundi rex, gloria caeli.*"¹ The Tours artists follow the simplified Western version of the *Majestas* in that Christ is accompanied only by the four symbols of the Evangelists; Eastern features such as the cherubim and seraphim are omitted.

Tours, Type B. In our second division of the Tours examples we find a radical innovation in the shape of the enclosing mandorla. In all the preceding examples the mandorla was either oval or pointed, but in the chief manuscript of the school, the First Bible of Charles the Bald, known as the Vivien Bible (Fig. 21),² the mandorla assumes the outline of a figure 8. This change may have been the result of the artist's desire to produce a more symmetrical and harmonious page, but it is more likely due to the exigencies of space inasmuch as the artist has included the figures of the inspired Evangelists as well as their symbols. In the Bible of Moutier-Grandval the four Major Prophets appear in the corners of the page, but in the Vivien Bible this space is occupied by the seated figures of the Evangelists, and busts of the Prophets are placed at the corners of the enclosing lozenge. The artist could not omit the symbols of the Evangelists, and in order to include them within this enclosing lozenge, as in the Bible of Moutier-Grandval,³ he found it necessary to alter the traditional shape of the mandorla to that of a figure 8. Accordingly, we find a composition which shows the final development of the Northumbrian page as illustrated by the Codex Amiatinus. In other respects, however, the *Majestas Domini* of the Vivien Bible conforms to the traditional Tours type. The Saviour's feet rest on a patch of earth, distinctly shown on the star-covered globe, similar to that of the Bible of Moutier-Grandval; Christ is bearded, as in the Gospels of Lothaire, and the ball or disc held in the blessing right hand is inscribed with the Constantinian monogram.

Rheims. A different phase of this evolution appears earlier in the school of Rheims. In fact, nearly all the transitional stages of the globe-mandorla are seen in the Utrecht Psalter, the most important manuscript of this school and written, like the Ebbo Gospels, during the first third of the ninth century after East Christian models. The Logos appears on nearly every page of this manuscript, but of the many types in which He is conceived the only one important for our discussion is that in which the globe and mandorla are used. On some pages the oval mandorla completely surrounds the globe, as in type A of Tours; on others the mandorla appears to intersect the globe slightly at the base; and on still others the mandorla not only intersects the globe but is placed behind, rather than around, the enthroned figure, as in Psalm LI (Fig. 22). This last feature is even more

¹Beissel, *op. cit.*, pp. 192-3. A very similar inscription was used in the abbey-church of Gorze, dedicated by Chrodegang of Metz on the 11th of July, 765 A. D. The *titulus*, as given by Alcuin, read:

"Hac sedet arce deus iudex, genitoris imago
Hic seraphim fulgent, domini sub amore calentes
Hoc inter cherubim volitant arcana tonantis
Hic pariter fulgent sapientes quinque puellae
Aeterna in manibus portantes luce lucernas."

This *titulus* undoubtedly labelled a *Majestas Domini* and a representation of the Five Wise Virgins (Schlosser, *Schriftquellen*, no. 900).

²Beissel, *op. cit.*, p. 188; Berger, *op. cit.*, pp. 215-220.

³Earlier examples of the use of the enclosing lozenge in the school of Tours are shown in the Gospel of Saint-Gauzelin, second quarter of the IX century (Boinet, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVII) and the Bamberg Bible (*ibid.*, pl. XXIX).



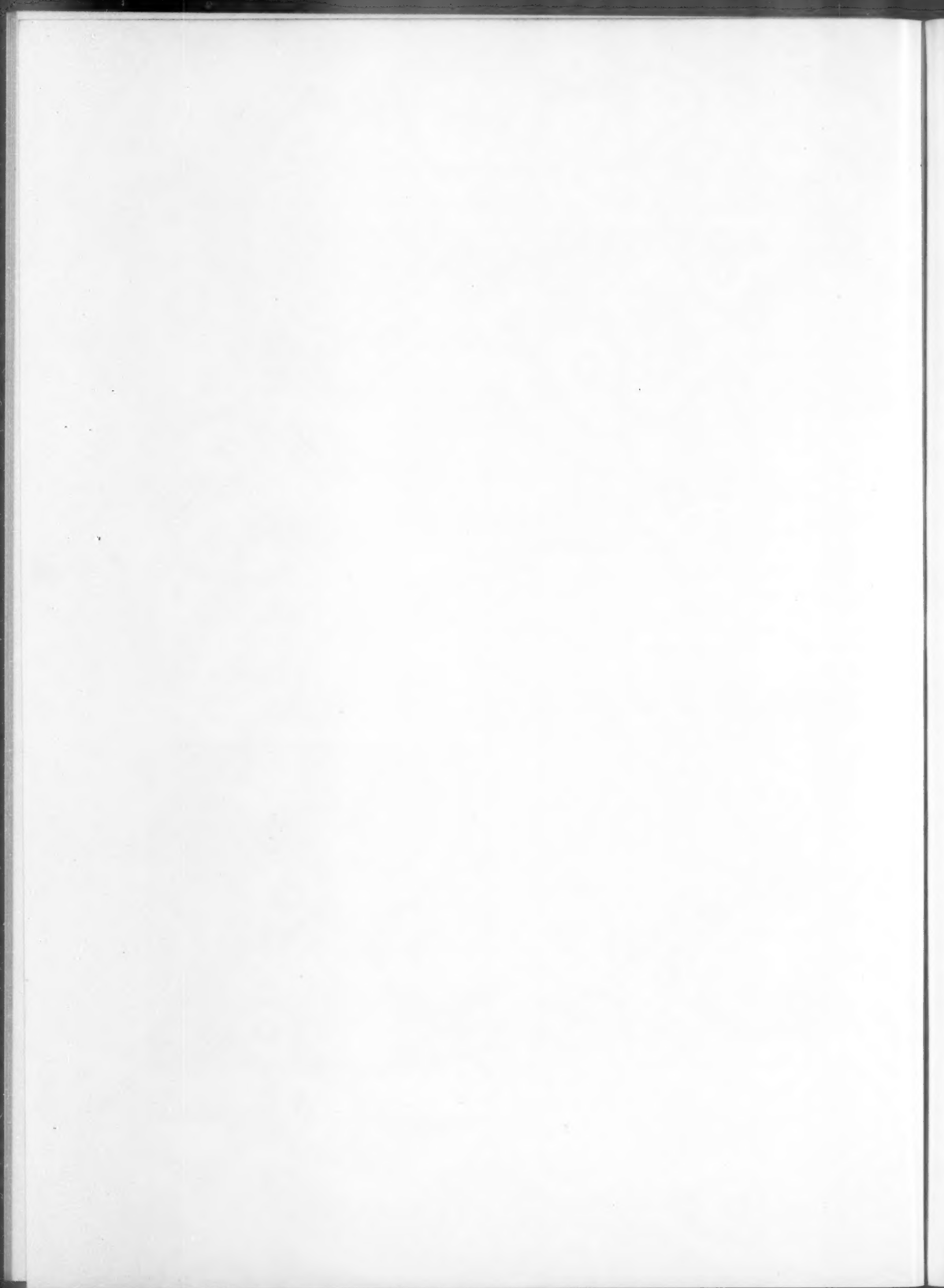
FIG. 22—UTRECHT, UNIVERSITY LIBRARY: UTRECHT PSALTER, FOL. 30. PSALM LI. FIRST THIRD IX CENTURY



FIG. 23—ROME, CONVENT OF ST. PAUL'S F. L. M.: BIBLE OF ST. PAUL'S F. L. M., FOL. 256B. A. 869



FIG. 24—LONDON, COLL. OF MRS. STUART MACKENZIE: FRANCO-FLEMISH PAINTING REPRODUCING THE HIGH ALTAR OF ST. DENIS, SHOWING IX-CENTURY GOLD ANTEPENDIUM



clearly seen in a later Rheims manuscript, the Psalter of Henri le Libéral,¹ dated about the middle of the ninth century. Here the mandorla is relatively smaller than in any of the Utrecht Psalter versions and is flanked by two angels.

St. Denis. The final stage in the evolution of the globe-mandorla was attained in the royal abbey of St. Denis, a school Mr. Albert M. Friend has recently identified with what was formerly known as the "school of Corbie."² The early art of this school, until the death of the abbot Louis in the year 867, was dominated, as Mr. Friend has shown, by the Franco-Saxon style. After that date, however, Charles the Bald himself became secular abbot, and for the next ten years, until his death in 877, the style reflected in manuscripts, goldsmith's work, ivories, and carved crystal gems was predominantly eclectic, combining elements derived from all the great Carolingian schools, Franco-Saxon, Ada, Tours, and Rheims. This eclecticism was undoubtedly due in large measure to the fact that the library of Charles the Bald, which included manuscripts of the various Carolingian schools, was deposited at the royal abbey, to which one third of the library was eventually bequeathed.³

In the works of this eclectic school we naturally find all three variants of the *Majestas* which have appeared earlier at Tours and Rheims. Type A of Tours, showing the Hellenistic globe and the surrounding mandorla, is found in three of the most important St. Denis manuscripts, viz., the Bible of St. Paul's f. l. m. (before 869) (Fig. 23), the Metz Sacramentary (869),⁴ and the Codex Aureus of St. Emmeran (870).⁵ Each of these manuscripts shows the bearded Saviour, as in the Vivien Bible, and a second page from the Metz Sacramentary shows the beardless type.⁶ As in the Tours examples, Christ is seated on a globe which is tangent to the enclosing pointed or oval mandorla and holds the ball of the world in His right hand; but in the Bible of St. Paul's f. l. m. His feet rest on an Eastern *scabellum*, an innovation not found at Tours.

The iconographic arrangement of the *Majestas* page in the Bible of St. Paul's f. l. m. and in the Gospels of St. Emmeran was obviously copied directly from type B of Tours, such as appears in the Bible of Vivien (Fig. 21). The latter manuscript, which, as we have noted, was the *chef d'oeuvre* of the school of Tours and belonged to the library of Charles the Bald, may have been deposited at the abbey of St. Denis between 867 and 869. The Evangelists, Prophets, and enclosing lozenge in Fig. 23 are arranged as in the page from the Vivien Bible, but it is significant that the St. Denis artist has placed the symbols of the Evangelists outside the lozenge and has not copied the figure 8 mandorla. In the Metz Sacramentary the usual Evangelistic symbols are omitted, and we find, instead, Terra, Oceanus, and angels, common iconographic features of St. Denis, which may possibly reflect the influence of the celestial hierarchy of the Pseudo-Dionysus.

The influence of Tours appears again in the gold antependium of the abbey of St. Denis, a monument which was converted by Suger during the twelfth century into a retable for the high altar. Although the retable perished during the French Revolution, its design is preserved by a Franco-Flemish painting now in London (Fig. 24).⁷ In the central compartment the Saviour is seated within a mandorla, which has the figure 8 outline of the Vivien Bible. But the artist has obviously misunderstood the significance

¹*Ibid.*, pl. LXXVII.

²A. M. Friend, *Carolingian Art in the Abbey of Saint-Denis*, in *Art Studies*, I, pp. 67-75.

³*Ibid.*, p. 72.

⁴Boinet, *op. cit.*, pls. CXXXII, CXXXIII.

⁵*Ibid.*, pl. CXVI.

⁶*Ibid.*, pl. CXXXII.

⁷A full page reproduction of this XV-century panel painting, which represents The Mass of S. Giles, has been published by Sir Martin Conway, *Some Treasures of the time of Charles the Bald*, in *Burlington Magazine*, XXVI, 1914-1915, pp. 236 ff.

of the *motif* since he has used an Eastern throne instead of a globe as a seat for Christ. The upper half of the mandorla is much larger than the lower, an indication that the artist may have felt some influence from Rheims.

A good example of Rheims influence upon the school of St. Denis appears in the Noailles ivory book-cover (c. 869), now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.¹ Here the mandorla is much larger than the globe and intersects it as in the Utrecht Psalter (Fig. 22). But the Saviour's feet rest on an Eastern *scabellum*, a feature which may have been derived from an earlier St. Denis ivory now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, an ivory showing not only the Eastern footstool but also an Eastern bolster and other Oriental features.² The presence of Rheims iconography, as well as drapery and figure style, in the school of St. Denis is explained by the close relationship existing between Charles the Bald and Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, who was educated at the abbey of St. Denis.³

The final development of the globe-mandorla appears on the masterpiece of the school of St. Denis, the gold book-cover of the Codex Aureus of St. Emmeran (870), now in the State Library at Munich. In the central compartment (Fig. 25) the beardless Saviour is seated on the globe of heaven, as in the previous Carolingian examples; but the oval mandorla, placed behind the figure, has so diminished in size that the Christ appears to be enthroned at the intersection of the globe and mandorla, the outline of globe and mandorla forming a figure 8. Further innovations which appear on the gold book-cover of St. Emmeran are the use of a small ball of the earth as a footstool, the introduction of an Eastern bolster, and the four stars in the corners.

It is this new iconographic type, appearing in the school of St. Denis in 870, which served as a prototype for all the later variants of the globe-mandorla, with its intersecting circles and ellipses. The abbey of St. Denis was a powerful artistic center not only during the second half of the ninth century, but its influence can be traced during the tenth and eleventh centuries in Northern France, Belgium, Germany, England, Southern France, and Spain. The extent of this influence is clearly demonstrated by the further history of our iconographic type. We shall first examine the diffusion of Tours types A and B, which are also common to St. Denis, and then show the wide expansion of the globe-mandorla type as we have found it perfected on the cover of the Gospels of St. Emmeran.

Diffusion of Tours Type A. We have already noted that type A of Tours, in which the mandorla encloses the globe or is tangent to it, appears in manuscripts of St. Denis in the ninth century. During the tenth and eleventh centuries it is found also on ivories and manuscripts in Germany, Belgium, and England. We have it on the St. Nicaise ivory panel from Liège (c. 900), now at Tournai,⁴ but the Saviour's feet rest on a rectangular footstool or *scabellum*, an Eastern feature, shown on the Noailles book-cover but not appearing at Tours. The same description applies to an eleventh-century Belgian

¹Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen*, I, pl. XXVIII, fig. 71a.

²Illustrated by Joseph Breck, *Two Carolingian Ivories*, in *A. J. A.*, 1919, XXIII, pp. 394ff., fig. 1. Mr. Breck suggests the Rhenish provinces as the probable place of origin of the *Majestas* and Virgin and Child ivories in the Metropolitan Museum (p. 397), but Mr. Albert M. Friend has shown that these two ivories are early examples of the school of St. Denis (*Two Ivory Book Covers from St. Denis*, unpublished manuscript; cf. also *Manuscripts, Ivories, and Goldwork in the Abbey of St. Denis under the Patronage of Charles II*, in *A. J. A.*, 1920, XXIV, pp. 81-82).

³A. M. Friend, *Art Studies*, I, p. 73.

⁴Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, I, pl. LXXI, fig. 160a, p. 78.



FIG. 25—MUNICH, STATE LIBRARY: CENTRAL DETAIL FROM GOLD BOOK-COVER OF THE CODEX AUREUS OF ST. EMMERAN. 870



FIG. 26—BOULOGNE, MUNICIPAL LIBRARY: PAGE FROM THE GREAT LATIN GOSPELS. C. 980-990



FIG. 27—BOULOGNE, MUNICIPAL LIBRARY: PAGE FROM THE PSALTER OF BOULOGNE. C. 1000



FIG. 28—LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM: MOZARABIC IVORY PANEL. PROBABLY X CENTURY



ivory in the Cluny Museum.¹ Belgian and Cologne ivories² and manuscripts³ are also found in which the Saviour's feet rest on a small ball of the earth, similar to that seen on the book-cover of St. Emmeran. Inasmuch as the *scabellum* and ball of the earth, used as footstools, are typical of St. Denis and do not appear at Tours, the above examples of the use of the Tours type must derive from St. Denis.

During the tenth and eleventh centuries the abbeys of Northern France, West Belgium, and England were intimately related, and the Tours type, again with St. Denis variations, appears in almost identical form in the schools of St. Bertin, St. Vaast d'Arras, and Winchester. In the Charter of King Edgar of New Minster (966),⁴ the earliest Anglo-Saxon manuscript of the Winchester style, Christ is enthroned not only on a globe, but also on a Byzantine rainbow arch, and is surrounded by a pointed mandorla supported by two angels. This mingling of Eastern or Byzantine features with the Tours type is found not only in early English manuscripts, but also in North French and Belgian works derived from English models. The Great Latin Gospels of Boulogne, an English manuscript of about 980 to 990 (Fig. 26), shows the globe of heaven and the rainbow arch placed within a pointed mandorla, enclosed within a circle, and Christ's feet rest on a globe of the earth, inscribed "TERRA." A strikingly similar representation, showing the close connection between England and Northern France, appears in a North French manuscript from St. Bertin, executed at St. Omer.⁵ The French artist, who was possibly confronted with several models and wished to omit nothing of importance, has misunderstood the significance of the circular footstool and has superimposed a *scabellum* on the globe of the earth.

The ease with which iconographic types were confused and the original significance lost is shown by another page from the Boulogne Gospels.⁶ The Saviour is enthroned on a Byzantine rainbow arch, with His feet resting on a *scabellum*; the circular shape of the globe has entirely disappeared, but a vestige of the original conception is retained in that the space below the arch is painted with solid color. The same arrangement is seen in an Ascension from the Psalter of Boulogne (Fig. 27), a North French manuscript of the school of St. Bertin, written about the year 1000 by abbot Odbert after Winchester or Canterbury models. The pointed mandorla is supported, in the Eastern fashion, by four angels, but, to attain a more pleasing design, the artist has inverted the two upper angels. This inversion is one of the earliest examples in northern Europe of a *motif* which became increasingly popular during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁷ In other English

¹*Ibid.*, II, pl. XV, fig. 48, p. 27. In this example the enclosing mandorla intersects the base slightly as in some pages of the Utrecht Psalter and it is not unlikely that this ivory also reflects influence from Rheims, a school which exerted a strong influence on Cologne during the X and XI centuries.

²Liège, Curtius Museum, ivory panel with Bishop Notker, c. 971-1008, East Belgian (*ibid.*, II, pl. XV, fig. 46, p. 27); Liège, an archaic school harking back to early models, was possibly influenced by early St. Denis and Rheims. Cologne, Kunstgewerbemuseum, ivory panel with SS. Victor and Gereon, first half XI century, school of Cologne (*ibid.*, II, pl. XV, fig. 47, p. 27): in this ivory the circular globe of the earth is supported on a pedestal, an unusual feature, which does not appear in other examples. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, no. 2.72, ivory panel, c. 1100, Belgian or North French (*ibid.*, II, pl. XLVIII, fig. 170, p. 51): the globe of the earth is pierced like a honey comb and the mandorla intersects the globe of heaven at the base.

³Leipzig, University Library, MS. no. 774, fol. 29 b, Belgian Psalter ascribed by Springer to Soignies in Hennegau (Robert Bruck, *Die Malereien in den Handschriften des Königreichs Sachsen*, Dresden, 1906, fig. 22).

⁴London, Br. Mus., Cotton MS. Vespasian A. VIII, fol. 2b (J. P. Gilson, *Schools of Illumination*, London, 1914, part I, pl. 8).

⁵St. Omer, Municipal Library, MS. no. 56, fol. 35 (c. 1000).

⁶Illustrated in *The Art Bulletin*, V, 4, fig. 34.

⁷The *motif* of inverted angels may have been suggested to the French artist by the inversion found on Roman mosaics, such as that shown on the ceiling of the chapel of the Sancta Sanctorum in the Lateran (de Rossi, *Mosaics*, pl. XXI). This mosaic, however, differs from the French manuscript in that the four angels are on a ceiling decoration and not on a vertical wall space. An example in the XI (?) century is shown on the ivory cover illustrated in Fig. 41. The best known example in Romanesque art is that found on the sculptured tympanum of the Last Judgment at Autun, a feature which was copied widely during the XII century; in Spanish antependia (Cook, *The Stucco Antependia of Catalonia*, *Art Studies*, II, fig. 44), in Italian sculpture, as on the sculptured candelabrum at Gæta (Venturi, *Storia*, III, fig. 614), and elsewhere.

manuscripts of the first half of the eleventh century the Tours globe and all vestige of its existence, such as solid color, are omitted, and Christ is almost invariably seated on the Byzantine rainbow arch.¹

An indication of the far-reaching influence of the iconography of Tours is its presence in Spain. A version which shows no contact with St. Denis and which must have come to Leon-Castile directly from Tours appears on an ivory panel, probably of the tenth century, now in the British Museum (Fig. 28).² The oval mandorla, decorated with cable pattern, is tangent to the globe, which is likewise decorated with cable pattern, so that it has more the appearance of a ring than of a globe. The beardless Christ, enthroned on the globe, or ring, holds a long cross in His right hand, and outside the mandorla appear the four symbols of the Evangelists (cf. Fig. 20). Tours influence, possibly disseminated by St. Denis, is found in two manuscripts of the school of the Asturias, the Codex Vigilanus, dated 976 (Fig. 29), and the Codex Aemilianensis, of the end of the tenth century (Fig. 30), both in the Escorial Library. The most striking Carolingian feature in these two manuscripts is the enclosing lozenge, which we have already noted in the Bible of Moutier-Grandval, the Vivien Bible (Fig. 21), and in such St. Denis manuscripts as the Bible of St. Paul's f. l. m. (Fig. 23). The Spanish artist omits the oval mandorla, one of the most essential features of the *Majestas* type. The enclosing lozenge is construed as a mandorla, a misunderstanding which one might expect in the Peninsula, where the artist was far removed from the original models. French features appear in the bearded type of the Saviour,³ seated on a globe with His feet unsupported by a footstool, the ball of the world held in His blessing right hand, and the starry background which is found in the Gospels of Prüm and Le Mans (cf. Fig. 20). The drapery and figure style, however, reverts to earlier Spanish manuscripts, such as the Bible of Leon (960)⁴ and the early Beatus manuscript in Mr. Morgan's library. Instead of the usual symbols of the Evangelists, the corners are filled with archangels, seraphim, and cherubim, a *motif* which may have been copied from St. Denis (Metz Sacramentary) or from earlier Mozarabic models.

Diffusion of Tours Type B. Further evidence of Carolingian influence in Spain, in the form of Tours type B, appears on a page from the Commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus of Liebana (dated 975), now in the cathedral of Gerona (Fig. 31). The bearded Christ, holding a ball of the world, labelled "MUNDUS," is surrounded by a figure 8 mandorla and a lozenge. The four symbols of the Evangelists are enclosed within a ribbon which is woven through the lozenge. The Saviour is not seated on the globe, as at Tours and in the Vigilanus and Aemilianensis manuscripts, nor on an Eastern throne,

¹The rainbow arch without any trace of the globe is found in the beginning of the XI century on a page from the Gospels of Christ Church, Canterbury, London, Br. Mus., I D, IX, fol. 70 (Warner, *Reproductions from Illuminated Manuscripts, Series I*, London, 1910, pl. VI). A page from the Register and Martyrology of New Minster, Winchester, written about 1016-1020, Br. Mus., Stowe Ms. 944, fol. 6, shows the Saviour seated on the rainbow arch, but the addition of a second line underneath the arch is plainly a reminiscence of the globe (Warner, *op. cit.*, Series II, pl. VI). Christ and God the Father are both seated on the rainbow arch in the Offices of the Holy Cross and Trinity, written at New Minster, Winchester, about 1012-1020, partly by the monk Aelfwin, Cotton MS. Titus D. XXVII, fol. 75b (Gilson, *op. cit.*, pl. 12, b). Cf. also Gospels from New Minster, early XI century, Add. MS. 34890, fol. 115 (*ibid.*, pl. 14), where the Virgin is enthroned on a Byzantine rainbow arch.

²*La Collection Spitzer, I, Les Ivoires*, Paris, 1893, pl. XI; Graeven, *Elfenbeinwerke*, series I, no. 33; *Gaz. B. A.*, XVIII, 1878, p. 275; *ibid.*, XXV, 1882, p. 110; O. M. Dalton, *Catalogue of the Ivory Carvings of the Christian Era*, London, 1909, no. 77, pp. 61-63. This ivory has been assigned by Dalton to the X or XI century, and classified as Spanish or French. The close resemblance of the figure and drapery style to X-century Mozarabic manuscripts would place this work definitely within the Iberian peninsula or in a region subject to Mozarabic influence. The late Latin style persisted longer in Leon-Castile than elsewhere in Europe and the cable pattern on this ivory is especially typical of this region of Spain. For a full description of this ivory panel see Dalton, *loc. cit.*

³In earlier Mozarabic examples, such as that in the early Morgan Beatus MS., the Christ is invariably beardless, a feature derived from earlier Hellenistic models.

⁴A few pages of this manuscript have been illustrated by Neuss, *Die Katalanische Bibelillustration*, figs. 155, 156, 165, 166.

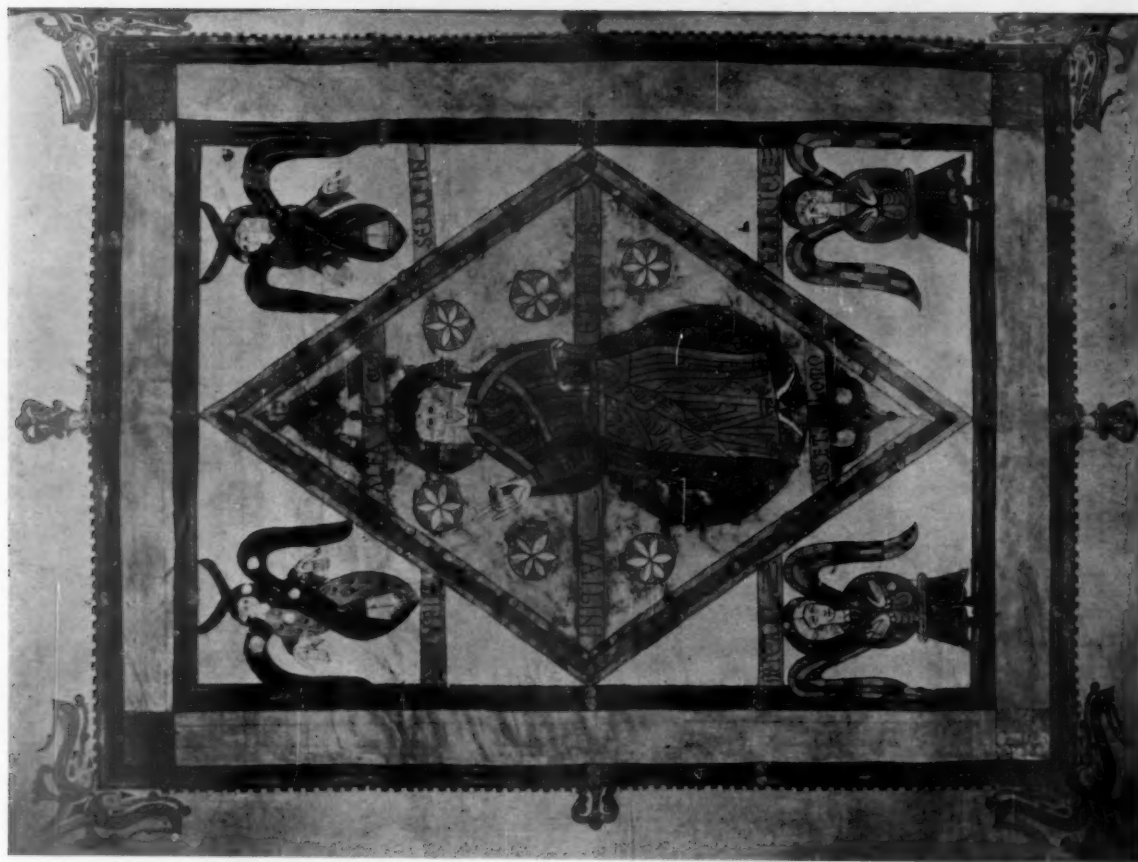


FIG. 30—Escorial Library: Codex Aemilianensis, Fol. 13. Late X Century

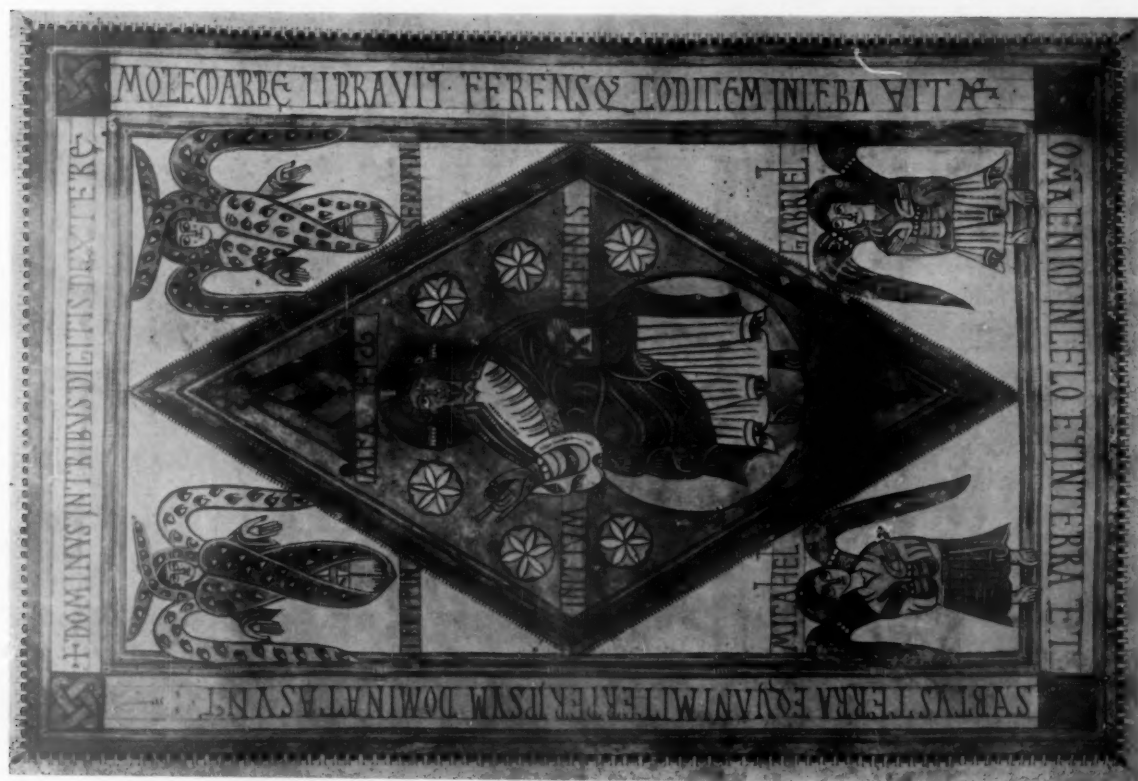
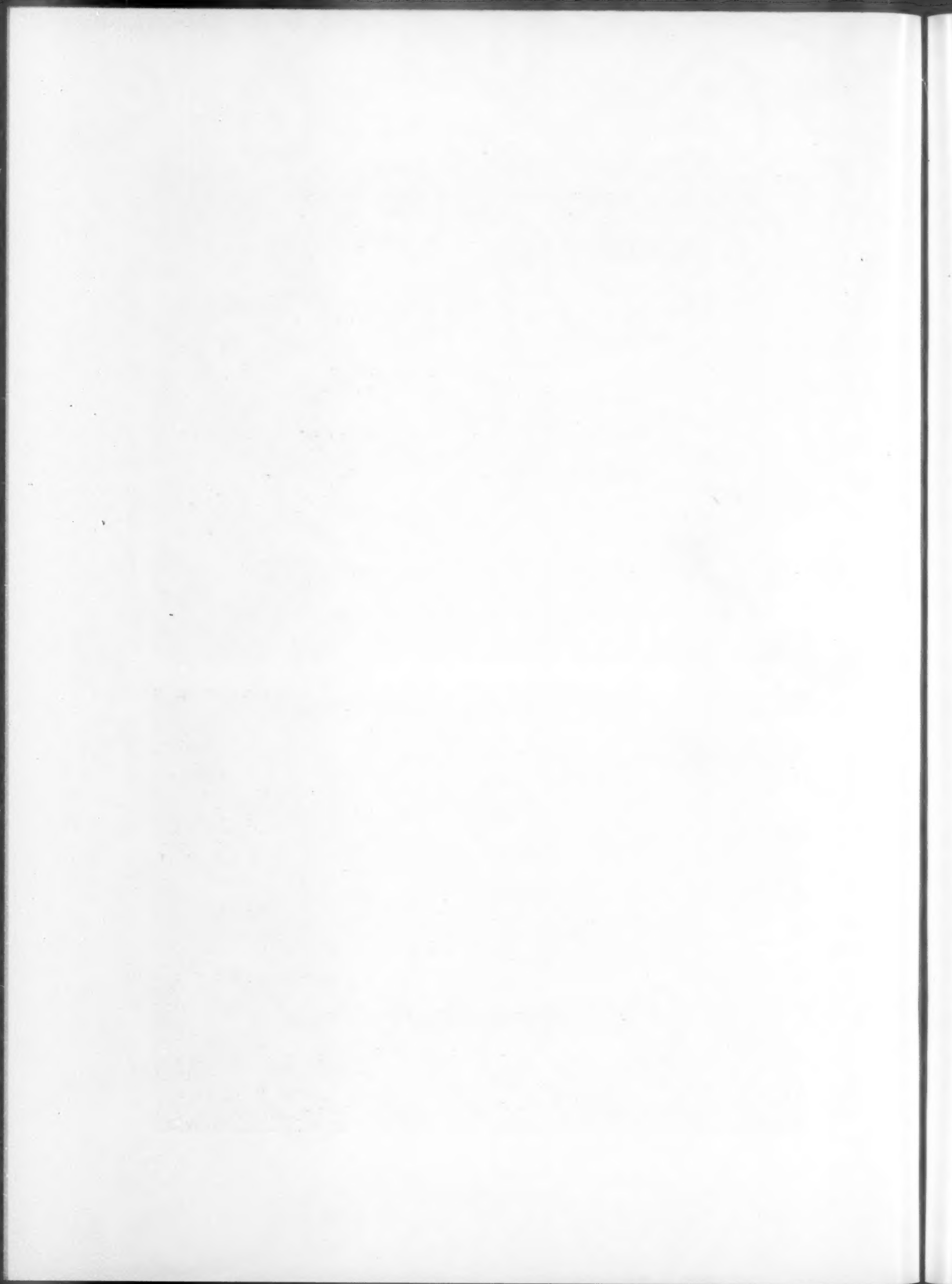


FIG. 29—Escorial Library: Page from the Codex Vigilanus. Dated 976



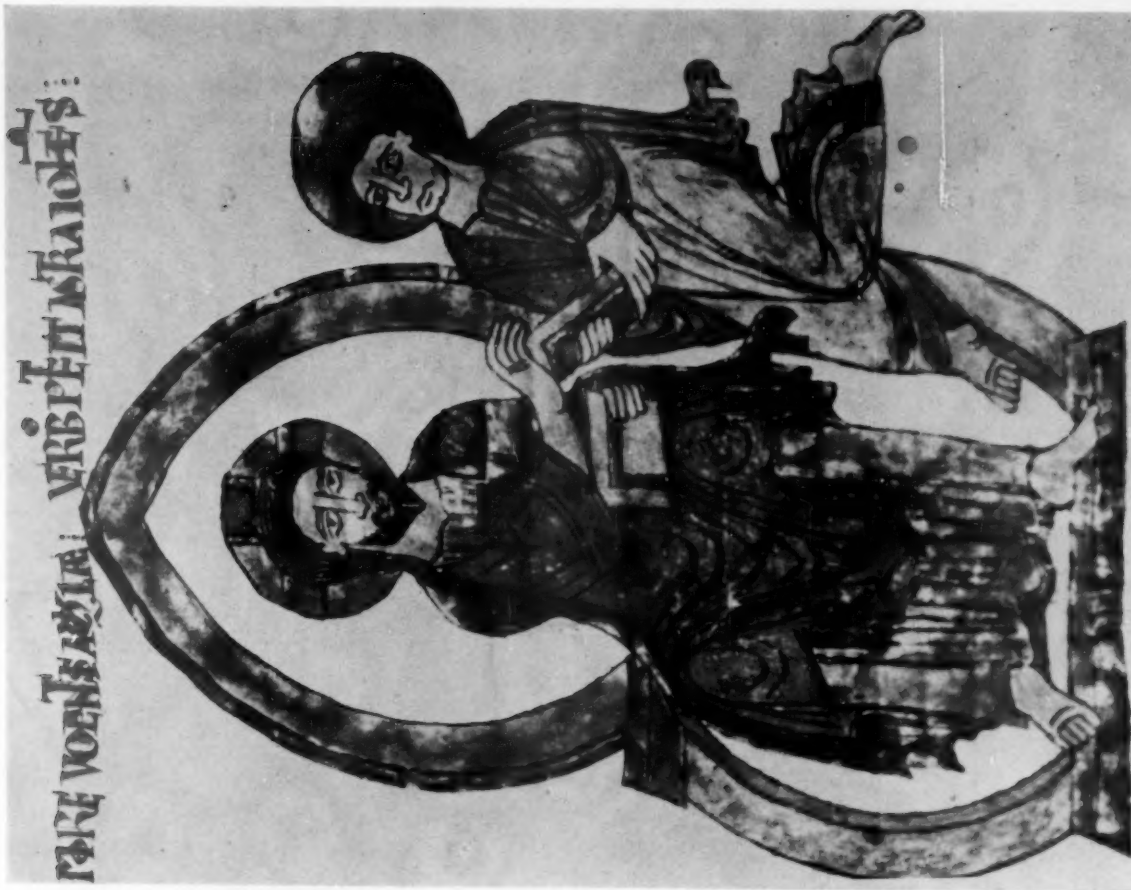


FIG. 32—PERPIGNAN, MUNICIPAL LIBRARY: GOSPELS OF PERPIGNAN, FOL. 111b. XII CENTURY

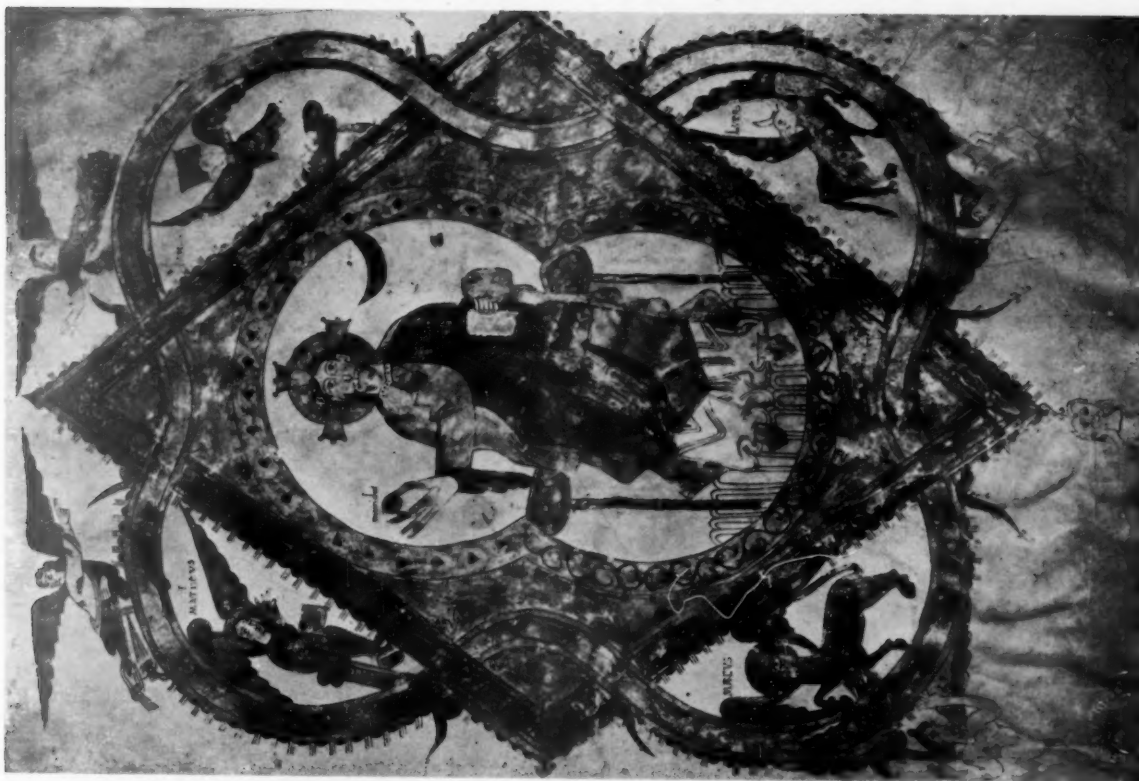


FIG. 31—GERONA, CATHEDRAL: COMMENTARY ON THE APOCALYPSE BY BEATUS OF LIEBANA, FOL. 2. DATED 975



as in the St. Denis gold antependium, but on a cushioned throne peculiar to the Iberian peninsula, a type which became increasingly common in later Spanish art.

Diffusion of the St. Denis Type. Much more powerful and far-reaching in its influence was the fully developed St. Denis globe-mandorla, where Christ is seated at the intersection of a circle and an ellipse, a type best illustrated by the gold book-cover of the St. Emmeran Gospels (Fig. 25). St. Denis was the most important foundation in France in the second half of the ninth century, and during the following centuries this iconographic type was transmitted to those schools which came directly or indirectly under its influence.

Many of the German schools had close contacts with the French monastery. The school of St. Gall, which was one of the earliest to show St. Denis style,¹ offers an early example of the globe-mandorla. In a St. Gall manuscript (Fig. 33) preserved in the Municipal Library at Zurich, dated by Merton in the first half of the tenth century,² the mandorla and globe form two perfect circles; Christ's feet rest on another circle, and the symbols of the Evangelists are enclosed in half medallions. In His left hand the Saviour holds a disc marked with a cross. The St. Denis type appears early in the school of Fulda also. In the Sacramentary of Göttingen, dated by Zimmermann in the third quarter of the tenth century, globe and mandorla are elliptical.³ Here the *Majestas Domini* is included in the Vision of St. Martin, which we have already cited as the earliest preserved example of this typically French subject in Western Europe.⁴ The presence of this legend in the school of Fulda is an indication of connection with Tours. Unmistakable St. Denis influence appears in the Bernward Gospel Book (Fig. 34), probably written by the deacon Guntbald of Hildesheim for St. Bernward between 1014 and 1022.⁵ The enthroned Saviour and two cherubim are enclosed within a circle, and below appear Oceanus and Terra, iconographic features characteristic of St. Denis.⁶ The Saviour's feet rest on a segment of earth covered with growing plants; in His right hand He holds a large disc enclosing the Lamb, and in His left He holds the Book of the Gospels, inscribed "VITA." The presence of French influence in Hildesheim at this period may be explained by the fact that St. Bernward, founder of the abbey of St. Michael of Hildesheim, spent two years at St. Denis and may well have returned to Germany with French manuscripts.

The school of Cologne is especially prolific in variants of the St. Denis prototype. In a Cologne manuscript dated by Ehl in the late tenth century⁷ the globe assumes a trapezoidal outline, and the mandorla, placed behind the figure, forms a perfect circle. The Saviour's feet rest on a *scabellum*, and the Evangelistic symbols are omitted. A much closer approximation to the St. Denis version appears in the Gospels of Gereon,⁸ a manuscript which shows obvious affinities with the Gospels of St. Emmeran and a drapery style derived from Rheims. The artists in Germany, as elsewhere, frequently misunderstood their French models and enclosed the globe-mandorla either in a pointed

¹St. Denis influence is clearly shown on ivories executed in the monastery of St. Gall, such as the Tuotilo ivory, which Goldschmidt dates about the year 900. The four seated Evangelists are copied almost line for line from the Evangelists on the gold book-cover of St. Emmeran (not shown in Fig. 25). The best illustration of the Tuotilo ivory is found in Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen*, I, pl. LXXV, fig. 163a, pp. 80-81.

²Adolf Merton, *Die Buchmalerei in St. Gallen vom neunten bis zum elften Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, 1912, p. 64.

³Göttingen, University Library, Cod. Theol. 231, fol. 113a, illustrated in *The Art Bulletin*, V, 4, fig. 2.

⁴*The Art Bulletin*, V, 4, p. 88.

⁵Stephan Beissel, *Des hl. Bernward Evangelienbuch im Dome zu Hildesheim*, Hildesheim, 1891, p. 13.

⁶Cf. Metz Sacramentary (Boinet, *op. cit.*, pl. CXXXIII).

⁷Cologne, Municipal Archives, Gospels, MS. 147, fol. 7 (Heinrich Ehl, *Die Ottonische Kölner Buchmalerei*, Bonn, Leipzig, 1922, fig. 10, pp. 37 ff.).

⁸Cologne, Municipal Archives, MS. 312, fol. 12b (*ibid.*, fig. 25, pp. 79 ff.).

mandorla, as in the Gereon Sacramentary¹ and a Cologne manuscript at Giessen,² or in a figure 8 mandorla, as shown in the Hitda Codex at Darmstadt.³ In all these examples the feet of the enthroned figure rest on a *scabellum*, indicative of St. Denis or Rheims influence. The globe-mandorla appears also on Cologne ivories⁴ and goldsmith work. On an eleventh-century gold book-cover of the abbess Theophanu, at Essen,⁵ the mandorla, placed behind the figure, is almost twice the size of the globe. Extreme formality and harmony of proportions appear in later eleventh-century manuscripts of the Cologne school.⁶ Globe and mandorla, equal in size, form perfect circles, with concentric bands of color, and the feet of the enthroned figure rest on a circular globe of the earth. This version represents the last phase of St. Denis influence in the school of Cologne inasmuch as the globe-mandorla disappears entirely with the introduction of Byzantine iconography.

The French version was also common in Belgium. A representative East Belgian example is shown in Fig. 35, a page from an eleventh-century manuscript of Gregory of Nazianzus in Brussels, formerly in the cloister Stablo, diocese of Liège.⁷ The use of perfect circles and the globe of the earth under the Saviour's feet may have penetrated the Meuse valley from Cologne rather than directly from St. Denis.⁸ The West Belgian schools, as would be expected, show an even closer resemblance to the St. Emmeran cover. On a Gospel page from St. Vaast at Arras (eleventh century), now in the Municipal Library at Boulogne⁹, the Saviour sits on a globe-mandorla similar to that found on the Noailles ivory book-cover, with His feet resting on a *scabellum*.¹⁰

The purest English example of the St. Denis type is found in an initial O in the Benedictional of Aethelwold (963-984), of the Winchester school.¹¹ The globe appears to be surrounded by a rainbow arch, but unmistakable St. Denis influence appears in the intersection of the trapezoidal globe and mandorla.

The examples thus far considered have been found chiefly on tenth and eleventh-century manuscripts and ivories. From such models the St. Denis formula was freely copied by twelfth-century artists south of the Loire, not only in manuscripts but also in monumental sculpture and frescoes. In a manuscript from Southern France, which shows the Enthroned Christ surrounded by the twenty-four Elders of the Apocalypse,¹² the

¹Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat.817, fol. 15b (*ibid.*, fig. 17, pp. 51 ff.).

²Giessen, University Library, MS. 660, fol. I (*ibid.*, fig. 42, pp. 105 ff.).

³Darmstadt, Landesbibliothek, MS. 1640, fol. 7 (*ibid.*, fig. 47, pp. 108 ff.).

⁴Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum, ivory book-cover, c. 1000, with Eastern footstool (Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, II, pl. XXIV, fig. 72, pp. 33-34); Paris, Louvre, Molinier no. 27, ivory panel, middle XI century, with globe of the earth as footstool supported by two angels (*ibid.*, II, pl. XXII, fig. 66, p. 32). A North German ivory which was obviously inspired by the school of Cologne is found in Berlin, Königl. Bibliothek, theol. lat. q. 2, middle XI century (*ibid.*, pl. XLI, fig. 144a, p. 44).

⁵*Ibid.*, II, fig. 20. The feet rest on a segment of the globe of the earth and an angel on either side supports the circular mandorla.

⁶Cologne, Priesterseminar, fol. 1b. (Ehl, *op. cit.*, fig. 62, pp. 158 ff.); Bamberg, Municipal Library, A II, 18 (*ibid.*, fig. 69, pp. 171 ff.).

⁷Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, II, p. 6.

⁸The Meuse Valley was subject to influences from the Carolingian Ada school as well as St. Denis, which would explain the iconography and style of X-XI-century ivory formerly in the Odier collection, now at Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum. Its globe-mandorla is derived from St. Denis; the figure and drapery style from the Ada school (*ibid.*, I, pl. XIII, fig. 23, p. 17).

⁹Boulogne, Municipal Library, no. 9, fol. 112b (*Friend collection of photographs*).

¹⁰A X-century ivory book-cover which Goldschmidt states is dependent on the Metz school, but which may have been made in north-eastern France, shows obvious influence from St. Denis. The globe-mandorla is similar in outline to that found in the Noailles Gospels (Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, I, pl. LII, fig. 119c, p. 59). The St. Denis version is also found on ivories of unknown provenance of the second half of the XI century in the British Museum (*ibid.*, II, pl. XXXVI, fig. 119, p. 41; pl. XXXIX fig. 132, p. 42) and in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin (*ibid.*, II, pl. XXXVII, fig. 122, p. 41).

¹¹George F. Warner, *The Benedictional of Saint Aethelwold, Bishop of Winchester* (963-984), Oxford, 1910, fol. 70.

¹²*Gaz. Arch.*, 1887, pl. 20; Mâle, *L'art religieux du XII siècle en France*, fig. 3.



FIG. 33—ZÜRICH, MUNICIPAL LIBRARY: MS. NO. C. 80, PL. 83. FIRST HALF X CENTURY



FIG. 34—HILDESHEIM, CATHEDRAL LIBRARY: GOSPEL BOOK OF ST. BERNARD, FOL. 174. EARLY XI CENTURY



FIG. 35—BRUSSELS, LIBRARY: PAGE FROM MS. OF GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS. XI CENTURY

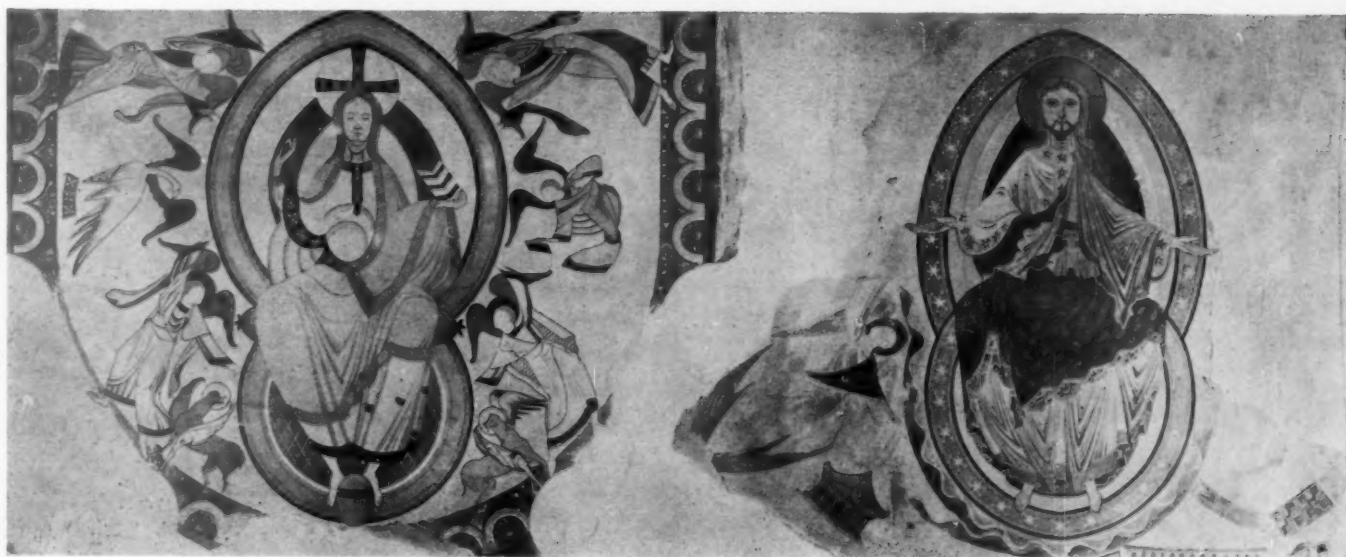


FIG. 36

FIG. 37

MONTOIRE, CHURCH OF ST.-GILLES: FRESCOS IN CHAPEL OF ST.-GILLES. XII CENTURY

oval mandorla is larger than the globe, approximating the transitional version found in the ninth century at Rheims (Fig. 22) and on the Noailles ivory book-cover. This type is less common in the twelfth century than that in which globe and mandorla are nearly equal in size. The mandorla is no wider than the globe in a fresco in the chapel of St.-Gilles at Montoire (Fig. 37) which shows God the Father, with plain nimbus, seated on the upper rim of the globe, without a cushion.¹ The outer band of the globe and mandorla is covered with stars and surrounded by clouds. An even closer copy of the original St. Denis model is found in an adjacent apse of this chapel at Montoire (Fig. 36). Christ the Son, with a crossed nimbus, is seated on a bolster and His feet rest on a small globe of the earth. This fresco copies almost exactly the central panel on the gold book-cover of St. Emmeran (Fig. 25). This *motif* was not restricted during the twelfth century to the *Majestas Domini*. It was also employed for the Virgin and Child, as shown by the Enthroned Virgin above the cloister arch from the church of St. Aubin at Angers.²

From Central and Southern France the St. Denis type penetrated into Spain. It is found late in Leon-Castile, where Visigothic script and the Mozarabic style continued in use well into the eleventh century. French influence became dominant especially during the last years of the reign of Alfonso VI of Leon (1065-1109), who substituted the Gallican for the old Mozarabic ritual. The consequent importation of French liturgical manuscripts brought in the new iconographic themes, which were freely copied by the native Spanish artist-monks. A Castilian version of the French *Majestas* type is illustrated by a twelfth-century manuscript page now in the Archæological Museum at Madrid.³ The globe-mandorla is similar to that found in the second of the Montoire frescoes mentioned above; the Saviour's feet rest on a patch of earth, indicated by foliate ornament, and the drapery style is based on South French models. The facial type and striped backgrounds are local features peculiar to Spain.

French influence was much more powerful in Catalonia, a province which had maintained close relations with Southern and Central France since the ninth century. Accordingly, French iconographic motives appeared much earlier and were more widespread in the *Marca Hispanica* than in the opposite end of the peninsula. This influence is clearly evident in the Catalan manuscript style. In the Apocalyptic Vision of St. John in the Gospel scenes of the Bible of Roda⁴ Christ is shown with the two-edged swords proceeding from the mouth, the seven stars, the seven candelabra, and the double keys (Rev., 1, 16-17; 4, 4). The Saviour is here enthroned slightly below the rim of the globe of heaven and He lays His right hand on the head of St. John, who stands at His right. Globe and mandorla form perfect circles of equal size. A similar representation of the Saviour and St. John is found on a twelfth-century page of the Gospels from Sant Miquel de Cuixà, better known as the Perpignan Gospels (Fig. 32). Here St. John stands on the opposite side and offers his Gospel to the Saviour, who is seated on a cushion at the intersection of globe and mandorla. In another twelfth-century Catalan manuscript (Ripoll B, fol. 299) (cover design of this magazine) a large bolster is employed and the feet rest on a *scabellum*. On either side is a mitred ecclesiastic, seated under an arch, holding a book in the left hand and pointing with the right toward the enthroned Saviour.

Misunderstandings of the St. Denis Type. The foregoing monuments in Spain and Southern and Central France show a fairly faithful adherence to the original ninth-century

¹Abel Fabre, *L'Iconographie de la Pentecôte*, *Gaz. B. A.*, 1923, 5e période, t. VII, pp. 33 ff.

²Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture*, pl. 1070.

³Illustrated in *The Art Bulletin*, V, 4, fig. 36.

⁴Illustrated *ibid.*, fig. 10.

St. Denis prototype. However, examples are frequently found in these regions during the eleventh and twelfth centuries which show that the original significance of the globe of heaven was either misunderstood or completely lost. Such a misunderstanding is found on an ivory cover at Berlin (Fig. 41), tentatively assigned by Goldschmidt to the eleventh century and the school of Echternach,¹ but which may possibly belong to a later school of ivory carvers in Burgundy or Central France. The Saviour does not sit on the upper rim of the globe, but on a wide Eastern throne, with footstool, which the artist has inserted within the circular outline of the globe. A further innovation is shown in that the globe is supported by two angels. The circular mandorla is borne by inverted angels, a *motif* which we have already noted in the Psalter of Boulogne (Fig. 27). A similar misuse of throne and globe occurs in a twelfth-century fresco in the vestibule of the abbey church of St.-Savin (Vienne);² here a frontal Virgin is seated on a large throne, which almost obscures the globe placed behind the figure.

Such misunderstood versions in Southern France were readily imitated by the ivory carvers and goldsmiths of Spain. On a twelfth-century Spanish ivory in the Louvre (Fig. 38) a large Eastern throne is employed in the same manner as in the St.-Savin fresco. On a silver book-cover in the Camera Santa at Oviedo (Fig. 39) Christ is not seated on a bolster, placed at the intersection of globe and mandorla, but on a Dagobert throne. Two lamps, symbolic of the Apocalyptic "lamps of fire," are suspended from the mandorla, and Christ's feet rest on a curiously shaped *scabellum*. The extent to which the original significance of the type could be misunderstood in the twelfth century is shown by a page from a North French or Belgian manuscript (Fig. 42), where the globe-mandorla, surrounded by a wide band of foliate ornament, is placed behind the standing figure of a bishop saint. Such misunderstandings as these may possibly revert to ninth-century Carolingian models, since we have already noted that in the Bible of Vivien (Fig. 21) Christ is seated on a globe, surrounded by a figure 8 mandorla,³ and that a globe-mandorla encloses an Eastern throne on the central panel of the lost antependium of St. Denis (Fig. 24).

The most common misunderstanding of the globe-mandorla, which in this case cannot be traced to the Carolingian period, shows the Saviour seated, not on the upper rim of the globe, but on the lower arc of the mandorla. This confusion may have originated in the manuscript schools of Northern France, where we have already noted a tendency to mix iconographic types. On a page in the Gospels from St. Vaast d'Arras (c. 1000), now in Boulogne,⁴ the Saviour is seated on the lower arc of a pointed mandorla, placed in the center of an arch, and a small globe containing a *scabellum* is placed below His knees.

Whatever the origin of this perverted formula may have been, it was copied so frequently by artists of the tenth and eleventh centuries that it constitutes an almost new iconographic type. One of the earliest preserved examples in sculpture is found on the

¹Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, II, no. 34, p. 24.

²Reproduced in Gélis-Didot and Laffillée, *op. cit.*, pl. 32. The throne on which the Virgin is seated, which curves outward at the back, is apparently a late survival of a local feature peculiar to this region of Southern France. The same curving back appears on a late Merovingian manuscript of the early IX century from the abbey of Ste.-Croix at Poitiers (Cahier, *Nouveaux mélanges d'archéologie, Ivoires*, Paris, 1874, p. 112; Beissel, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-151), where the mandorla behind the *Majestas* produces an effect similar to that shown in the St.-Savin fresco. Greek letters appear on this manuscript and the ultimate source of this feature of curving arms is Eastern. The same type of throne with high back and curving arms is found in Gr. MS. 510 (fol. 67b, Vision of Isaiah), (Omout, *Fac-similés des manuscrits grecs*, pl. XXV).

³On an Old Testament page in the Bible of Roda (fol. 45), Christ is shown standing in a pointed figure 8 mandorla (Neuss, *Katalanische Bibelillustration*, fig. 95).

⁴Boulogne, Municipal Library, MS. no. 9, fol. I (*Friend Photograph*).



FIG. 39—OVIEDO, CATHEDRAL, CAMERA SANTA: NIELLO SILVER BOOK—COVER. XII CENTURY



FIG. 38—PARIS, LOUVRE: SPANISH IVORY BOOK—COVER. XII CENTURY

lintel of St.-Genis-des-Fontaines, a Catalan relief dated by an inscription 1020-21 (Fig. 40). The Redeemer is seated on the lower edge of the mandorla, and the globe below has diminished to a mere segment of a circle. This segment, or crescent shaped arc, which is only large enough to contain a footstool, breaks out into foliate ornament at the point of intersection with the mandorla. An angel on either side supports both the arc and the mandorla, whereas in earlier monuments the mandorla alone was supported. This clearly shows that the artist considered the whole *motif*, which approximates a figure 8 in outline, as a mandorla, and that he has lost all conception of the globe of heaven as a seat.

A typical French example is illustrated in Fig. 43, a page from the Bible of St.-Aubin at Angers, not earlier than the end of the eleventh century. The Saviour is enthroned on the lower arc of a broad circular mandorla, which is larger than the globe. Although the artist has confused the iconographic type, the original meaning of the globe has not been lost, as on the St.-Genis lintel. This is again shown on a page of the Catalan Bible of Farfa (Fig. 44), a manuscript which has furnished an example of every type of *Majestas Domini* that we have thus far studied. In this instance the artist has inserted a bolster at the intersection of the double circles. The persistence of the version throughout the Romanesque period is demonstrated by a late-twelfth-century Limoges enamelled casket in the British Museum (Fig. 45)¹ where a frontal Virgin with the Child is seated on the mandorla.

For our purposes this distorted version of the original St. Denis prototype is especially important, since it explains the *motif* shown on the two painted antependia in the Barcelona Museum (Figs. 1, 2). In both panels the Saviour sits on the mandorla and not on the upper rim of the globe. In Fig. 1 the globe-mandorla is elliptical, and in Fig. 2 perfect circles are shown. The Saviour's feet rest on a curving arc of the earth, with growing ferns underneath, and His right hand, in Fig. 2, holds the circular disc or ball of the world. The usual symbols of the Evangelists are omitted, but the rosettes in the corners are an obvious reminiscence of the stars found on the gold book-cover of St. Emmeran. The globe-mandorla, however, is identical with that found in such monuments as the Bible of St.-Aubin, the Bible of Farfa, and the Limoges casket.

(D) The Ball of the World

Before closing our discussion it would be well to call attention to the ball of the world, held in the right hand of Christ in Fig. 2. The presence of this feature on our altar-frontal is further proof of Carolingian tradition in the Romanesque art of Catalonia, since it is first found in the school of Tours, where it assumes the form of a small sphere or disc, held between the thumb and fourth finger.² That this object is to be understood as the ball of the world, a symbol of God's power over the universe, controlled and governed by His hand, is supported by a verse of Alcuin, which describes the right hand of God as "*Dextera quas patris mundum ditione gubernat*." This interpretation of the

¹Acquired in 1851 at the sale of the Sharpe collection, Edinburgh, J.-J. Marquet de Vasselot, *Les émaux limousins a fond vermiculé*, *Rev. Arch.*, VI, 1906, reprint, p. 15.

²Cf. Lothaire Gospels (Boinet, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXI), Gospels of Dufay (*ibid.*, pl. LVI), and the Gospels of Le Mans (fig. 20).

³Alcuini *carm.* 70 (J. von Schlosser, *Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der karolingischen Kunst*, no. 1057, 4, p. 399). The entire sentence reads:

*Dextera quae patris mundum ditione gubernat,
Et natum caelos proprium transexit in altos.*

This verse does not refer specifically to the world as a ball or sphere, held in the hand, and may have been employed to describe merely a blessing hand. In the Gospels of St. Emmeran of Charles the Bald (870) a blessing hand, without the circular object, is surrounded by an inscription almost identical with that quoted above—"dextera haec Patris, mundum ditione gubernans" (Swarczewski, *Regensburger Malerei*, pl. V, fig. 13, p. 71). However, the absence of the circular object does not affect the significance of the inscription.

motif as a ball of the 'world' is further strengthened by the *Majestas* page of the Gerona Beatus (Fig. 31) where the ball is plainly labelled as a world (MUNDUS). Moreover, in the ivory shown in Fig. 41 the object held in the blessing hand is carved as a sphere and not as a disc.¹

The circular object has also been interpreted as the Host or Eucharistic wafer,² introduced during the Carolingian period as a result of the Eucharistic controversy. In 831-833 Radbertus Paschasius, Abbot of Corbie, published a monograph, *De corpore et Sanguine Domini*, an exposition and defence of the theory of transubstantiation.³ The widespread adoption of the conclusions of Radbertus, that the Eucharistic wafer was the palpable symbol of the flesh and blood of Christ, may have influenced the artist-monks of the school of Tours. Such an interpretation of the sphere or disc is strengthened by the fact that in the Bible of Vivien (Fig. 21) it is inscribed with the Constantinian monogram. In the St. Gall manuscript shown in Fig. 33 a cross appears on the disc,⁴ and on the *Majestas* page of the Gospel Book of St. Bernward (Fig. 34) Christ holds in His right hand a large circle which contains the Lamb of God.

It is not at all improbable that both interpretations were current in the ninth and tenth centuries. The presence of the Constantinian monogram, the cross, and the Lamb would strongly favor the theory of the Eucharistic wafer; the Gerona Beatus, on the other hand, shows clearly that the tenth-century Spanish artist conceived the *motif* as a ball of the world. For our purposes it is sufficient to note that this typical Tours feature was freely adopted by Spanish artists. It is found not only in the tenth century, as in the Codex Vigilanus and the Codex Aemilianensis (Figs. 29, 30), but also on a Gospel page in the Farfa Bible (Fig. 12),⁵ on the Catalan standard of Sant Od (1095-1122), from La Seo d'Urgel,⁶ and on our Barcelona panel.

(E) The Globe of the Earth

The arc or segment of the earth-globe, filled with growing leaves, which serves as a footstool in both Barcelona panels (Figs. 1, 2), is another feature which is ultimately derived from Carolingian models. An early example of its use is found about the middle of the ninth century in the school of Tours. In the Gospels of Prüm⁷ the arc intersects the globe of heaven, on which the Saviour is seated, and underneath appear stars, clouds, and a large rosette. The presence of the arc in this manuscript may be explained as a late

¹Goldschmidt (*op. cit.*, II, p. 24) describes the sphere as a "Weltkugel."

²I owe this suggestion to Mr. A. M. Friend. Leprieux proposes the same explanation (Michel, *Histoire de l'art*, I, p. 354).

³Migne, *Patr. lat.*, 120, coll. 1267-1350; Henry O. Taylor, *The Mediæval Mind*, London, 1914, I, pp. 225ff; Max Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, Munich, 1911, pp. 403-404.

⁴The cross appears also on the circular disc held in the blessing hand of the Saviour on the South French manuscript in the cathedral of Auxerre (*Gaz. arch.*, 1887, pl. 20; Mâle, *op. cit.*, fig. 3). The Virgin holds a large ball in her left hand, inscribed with a cross, on a page from an XI-XII-century manuscript at Cologne, which Beissel terms a "Reichsapfel" (St. Beissel, *Geschichte der Verehrung Marias in Deutschland*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1909, fig. 64, p. 158). In later Ottonian manuscripts the Emperor holds a large ball inscribed with the cross, symbolical of his power and dominion over the world. In this case the ball with the cross cannot but be interpreted as the ball of the world.

⁵According to Prof. Wilhelm Neuss the circular object (Weltscheibe) does not signify the wafer but the ball of the world; he quotes an interesting example of its use in the Bible of Roda, where the ball is held in the hand of Noah (Neuss, *Katalanische Bibelillustration*, p. 42).

⁶For a reproduction of this standard see *Anuari*, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, VI, frontispiece, pp. 755 ff. Literary notices prove that such standards were employed in the XI century in Catalonia. They were carried before ecclesiastics in church assemblies, were hung behind the altar in parish churches, and were used as a rallying point for citizens in time of war.

⁷Boinet, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXVI.



FIG. 40—ST.-GENIS-DES-FONTAINES: LINTEL WITH CATALAN RELIEF. DATED 1020-21



FIG. 41—BERLIN, KAISER FRIEDRICH MUSEUM: IVORY RELIQUARY COVER. XI CENTURY



FIG. 42—NEW YORK, DEMOTTE COLL.: PAGE FROM A NORTH FRENCH OR BELGIAN MS. XII CENTURY



Hellenistic survival or an Eastern importation.¹ In the majority of Tours manuscripts, however, the feet rest on a small patch of earth, painted on the lower part of the globe (cf. Fig. 21),² and in the school of St. Denis a square Eastern *scabellum* is much more popular. The globe of the earth as a complete circle appears on the gold book-cover of St. Emmeran (Fig. 25), and this version, as we have already noted, spread to other schools subject to French influence.³

The arc as a footstool was employed less frequently in the West Frankish regions of Europe than the complete circle. During the twelfth century, however, the arc is common in Catalonia, as shown by the St. Martin panel from Montgrony,⁴ the Gospels of Perpignan,⁵ and a page of the Crucifixion on a Missal in the cathedral of Tortosa.⁶ In the last example, a manuscript which shows many Carolingian features, St. John and the Virgin stand on small earth segments, and the arc also appears at the foot of the cross. The use of growing leaves, which in our panels curl slightly at the tips, is similar to that found in the early-eleventh-century Gospel Book of St. Bernward (Fig. 34), where small sprigs cover the segment of the earth. On a page from a twelfth-century manuscript in the Archæological Museum at Madrid⁷ the arc is not employed, but foliate ornament appears under the feet of the Saviour.

(F) Summary

Our study of the evolution of the globe-mandorla in the Middle Ages has shown that this *motif*, which originated during the ninth century, was derived from pre-Carolingian elements. From the Latin globe type, the Eastern mandorla, and the Orientalized Western version of the seventh and eighth centuries the Carolingian artists of Tours and Rheims invented a new formula for the *Majestas Domini*. Three distinct Carolingian variants appear almost simultaneously, and from these, about the year 870, a new iconographic type evolved in the eclectic school of the royal abbey of St. Denis.

The St. Denis globe-mandorla, in which the Saviour is seated at the intersection of globe and mandorla, was not only imitated in Northern France and Belgium, but spread to England, Germany, Southern and Central France, and Spain. During the tenth and eleventh centuries it was chiefly confined to the West Frankish kingdom. In fact, it is especially significant that this version does not appear in Italy,⁸ in the art of Byzantium, or in the fully developed schools of Ottonian illumination which show a strong Byzantine strain. As the early Latin globe type was restricted to Italy and to regions which came under Italian influence, so the St. Denis globe-mandorla was confined to Capetian France and to those schools which came directly or indirectly under French influence.

¹An arc or segment of a circle is found on Early Christian sarcophagi, as shown by the Junius Bassus sarcophagus, where a *Caelus* holds a semicircular veil above his head as a footstool for the enthroned Christ (De Waal, *Sarcophag des Junius Bassus*, Rome, 1900, frontispiece). The use of a curving arc as a footstool has already been noted in the Byzantine mosaic of the Ascension in the church of Hagia Sophia at Salonika, a feature frequently repeated in later Byzantine versions of the *Majestas Domini*.

²Cf. also Gospels of Lothaire (Boinet, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXI); Bible of Moutier-Grandval (*ibid.*, pl. XLV).

³The complete circle as a footstool is found in the school of St. Gall (fig. 33), Cologne, Belgium (fig. 35), England and Northern France (fig. 26), in French frescoes of the XII century (fig. 36), and in Catalonia (Theoria Ms., Barcelona, Crown Archives, *The Art Bulletin*, V, 4, fig. 14). An early and unusual example of the complete circle appears on a IX-century Boulogne manuscript where the circular globe is filled with human heads (Boulogne, Municipal Library, MS. no. 106, fol. 1b.).

⁴*The Art Bulletin*, V, 4, fig. I.

⁵*Ibid.*, fig. 16.

⁶*Ibid.*, fig. 33.

⁷*Ibid.*, fig. 36.

⁸During the XII-century, however, French iconographic types occasionally penetrated into Italy. The Saviour is seated within a figure 8 mandorla, of the Vivien Bible type, on a stone altar-frontal at Bardone (Venturi, *Storia*, III, fig. 116).

The extent and power of French influence in Western Europe from the ninth through the twelfth century is clearly shown by the number of Carolingian globe-mandorla variants found in Spain. Confused and misunderstood versions of the Tours types have been noted in the Mozarabic manuscripts of the second half of the tenth century (Codex Vigilanus, Aemilianensis, Gerona Beatus). The St. Denis version, on the other hand, does not appear in Leon-Castile until the twelfth century, when its use becomes widespread in manuscripts, ivories, and goldsmith's work. It is thus a relatively late importation into the Old Kingdom, whereas it was found at least a century earlier in Catalonia. The frequency with which the St. Denis version was employed, although often in a misunderstood form, on Catalan monuments of the eleventh and twelfth centuries (lintel of St.-Genis-des-Fontaines, Bible of Farfa, Ripoll manuscript, Gospels of Perpignan, Barcelona antependia) is a striking proof of the powerful influence of French iconography on the art of the *Marca Hispanica*.

Yet Spain was not dominated solely by the art of Carolingian France. Italian influence is clearly evident in the use of the Hellenistic globe type (Bible of Farfa, Gerona Homilies of Bede); Eastern influence is shown in the use of the Byzantine rainbow arch (Ascension, Bible of Farfa); and the Orientalized Western version, common elsewhere during the seventh and eighth centuries, appears as late as the year 900 in the school of the Asturias (Morgan Beatus). Thus, nearly every mediæval formula for the *Majestas Domini* is found in the Iberian peninsula. In fact, three of these, the Latin globe, the Byzantine rainbow arch, and the St. Denis globe-mandorla, each derived from a different source, appear simultaneously on the pages of the same Catalan manuscript, the Bible of Farfa.

Our study of these mediæval versions of the *Majestas Domini* therefore serves a two-fold purpose. It not only explains the globe-mandorla in our Barcelona panels (a misunderstood variant of the St. Denis prototype); it also shows the source of other *Majestas* types which appear in the art of Catalonia and Leon-Castile. The frequent use of such a variety of iconographic types demonstrates the eclectic and derivative character of mediæval Spanish painting.

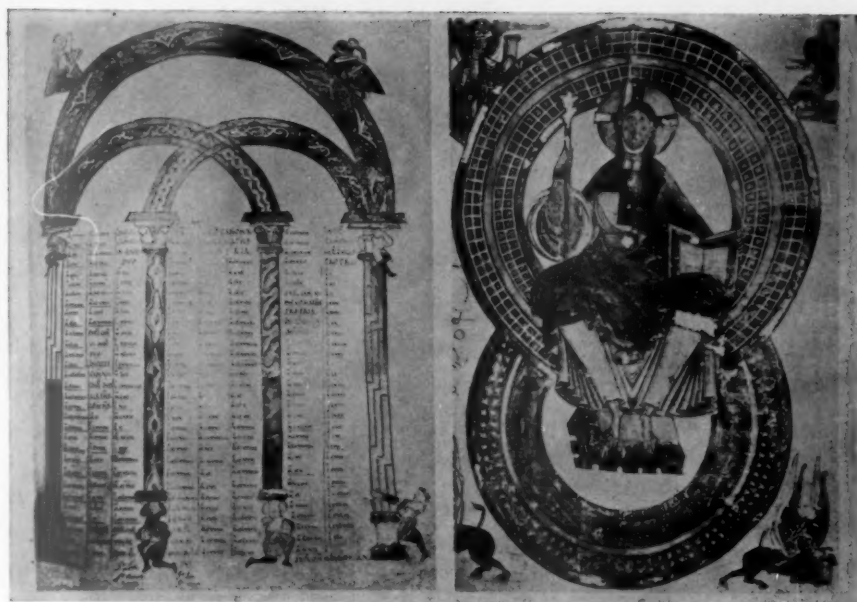


FIG. 43—ANGERS, BIBL. DE LA VILLE: BIBLE OF ST-AUBIN D'ANGERS, FOLS. 207 AND 208. XI CENTURY



FIG. 44—ROME, VATICAN LIBRARY: PAGE FROM THE BIBLE OF FARFA. COD. VAT. LAT. 5729. XI CENTURY

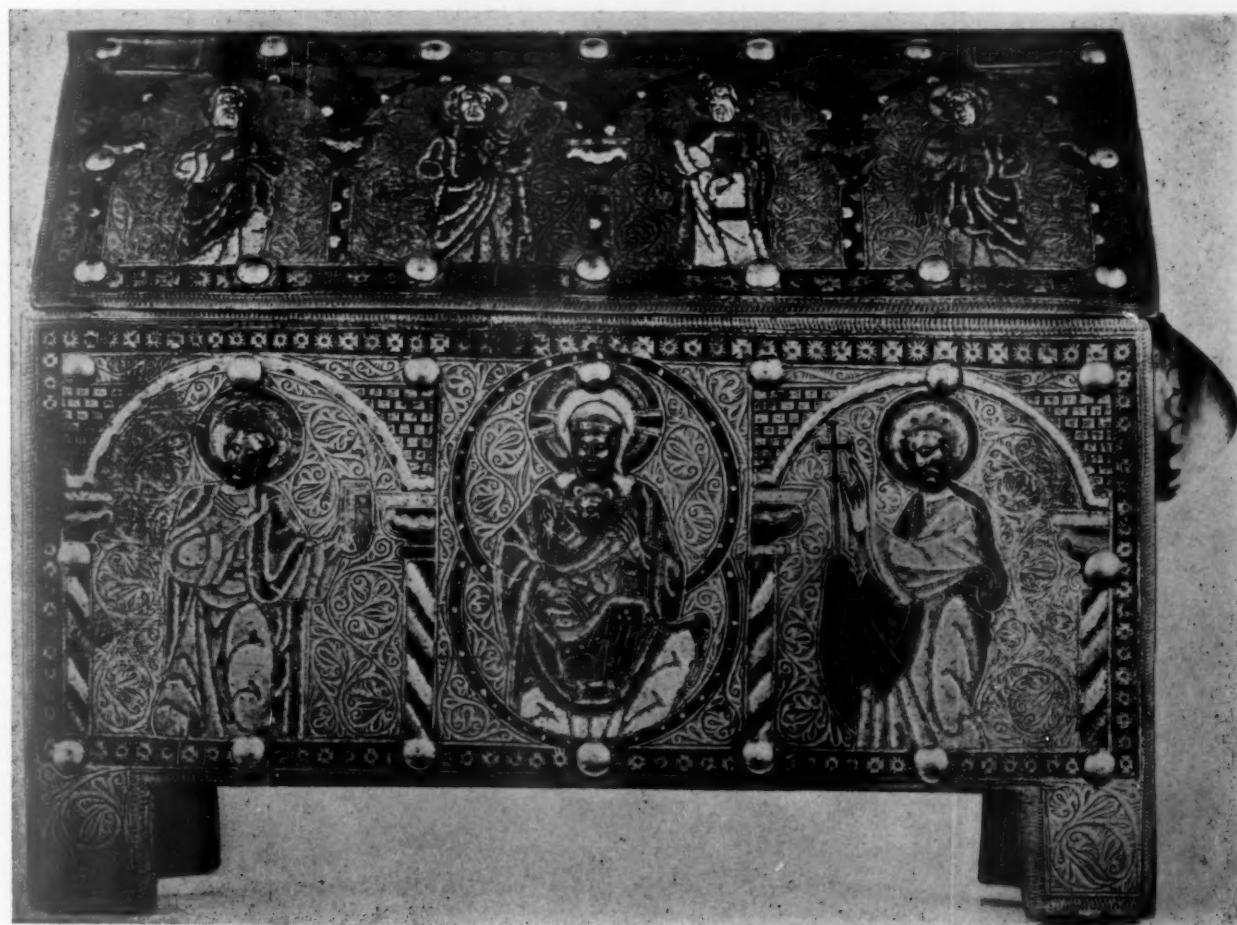


FIG. 45—LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM: LIMOGES ENAMELLED CASKET. LATE XII CENTURY



The Appreciation of Art

By ANANDA COOMARASWAMY AND STELLA BLOCH

In any discussion of art it must be clearly understood what we mean by art. It is assumed here that art is the symbolic expression of subjective experience. The symbols may consist of sounds (music and oral literature), written signs, especially lines (drawing and design), colors (painting), or masses (sculpture). Science, on the other hand, is a correlated system of the statement of concepts derived from objective experience. As no complete separation of subjective and objective experience is possible, so there is no absolute distinction of science and art. That the language of both is necessarily symbolic will be self-evident from the fact that we cannot reproduce nature (create life). In so far as any statement is purely descriptive we cannot designate it as either science or art: mere description, whether verbal or visual, is nothing more than a reference of things described to things known, requiring only the power of observation on the part of the recorder, and only the power of recognition on the part of the observer.

Very many well-intentioned persons at the present day are convinced of the desirability of awakening in the mass of the people a greater love of art, an appreciation both of the work of modern artists and of ancient art, and are oppressed by their lack of success, which they sometimes attribute to the materialism of the age. If, on the other hand, we look back to other times and places, we find that the objects which we now describe as works of art possessed a general appeal, that no one had to be taught to like them, and that those who produced them (called by us artists, but by their contemporaries regarded as craftsmen) were normal members of society, who did not starve in garrets, but without difficulty earned a reasonable livelihood. We further observe that the modern concept of art, as implying an activity distinct from that of life, or living, is of very recent origin. What do these contrasts mean?

Before we can go further we must penetrate a little more deeply into the nature of art, which we regard as a quality apparent in the handiwork of man. There are three kinds of art: the first, pure art, which is the symbol of spiritual vision; the second, dynamic art, which springs out of man's passion and emotional experience on earth; the third, apathetic (uninspired) or morbid art, which in cold blood deliberates on forms and shapes and generates conventions or would-be symbols behind which there is no meaning, or, having nothing to say, makes use of already existing symbols only for *divertissement*.

It is very important to observe that the subject matter of the symbolism is quite indifferent in this classification. Hieratic art is not necessarily pure, erotic art not necessarily impure. Static or formally monumental art may be either pure or morbid. In other words, the intrinsic qualities of art are not amenable to dimensional or ethical analysis: precisely as we cannot distinguish a saint from a sinner by his halo or particular acts. Not merely all men, but all things, are equal in the sight of God, who makes the sun to shine alike upon the just and the unjust: and any point whatever in nature, any theme, that is, may become the determinant of spiritual vision.

The ultimate subject of all pure or revealing art is God; the nature of its symbolism depending upon the way in which God manifests or is seen in modes of time and space, in other words, in terms of national character. Each race and age employs its own idiomatic

language, in which are involved all the associations of its experience and all the qualities inherent in its flesh and blood. Here, the artist is the race, and genius is an aberration. At one time the whole art of the race is inspired, at another its whole art is decadent: there are no bad artists to contradict the former condition, and only men of genius seem to contradict the latter.

The subject of the second kind of art is man's experience on earth. This experience is expressed in an individual language according to the particular associations of the individual artist. All such art, though it may delineate the gods, refers only to man and to mortal experience.

In the third kind of art the subject arises wholly out of personal and accidental associations; being devoid of any urgent predisposition and inherent necessity, this art contains only an interest in externals. It is spoken in a language entirely derived from the individual artist's peculiar tastes and temperament and has therefore nothing in common with humanity. Inasmuch as each artist has his style, and hopes to be original, it is a wilful conventionalization of the artist's experience—the designing of a new symmetry, to which all things he sees will be forced to adhere.

In the modern search for pure art an attempt has been made to create an abstract art, without recognizable themes or forms, and having a symbolism devoid of all associations. Inasmuch as nothing exists disembodied, and there can be no spiritual experience which does not arise in some connection, all such attempts must be known as vain ambitions. Art, indeed, refers to the infinite: but it speaks of the infinite only when nature, the vehicle of the infinite, has been accepted in all reverence as the word by which God reveals himself.

It is a further delusion to suppose that we have already escaped from the subject in art. To some the subject of a work of art is the story it tells; to others it is a moral; to others, a dramatic scheme of light and shade, a color composition. Fifty years ago we heard of such subjects as "The First Violin" and "Deserted." Now we have "Studies in Light," "Blue and Green," or simply "Study." It is all the same, and though we look upon our parents with compassion as sweet innocents, and upon the heathen as idolaters, our tendency, under another disguise, is identical. In other words, subject is inevitable, however sophisticated its form, however limited its appeal. And, accordingly, abstract art is an absurd indirection and a naïve terminology.

In times and places in which works of art (as we now call ancient works of life) were universally appreciated, it is precisely this reverence for the subject matter that we find predominant. A deeper necessity than that of handling the brush created the Italian Madonnas, a deeper need than that of divertissement, the dramatic dances of India and Java.

How, in our age, can there be a general appreciation of and a general demand for art, when there exists no common ground of experience and no common language of expression in any epic or religious theme of universal appeal? Under such conditions the existence of a national art, a modern European art of spiritual vision, is impossible. (Bach is perhaps the only modern artist that has passed beyond genius.) It is true that we have available to us the art of the two second orders—the art of genius and the art of accident. Ought we not to inculcate, may we not hope to awaken in the masses a better understanding of the works of genius? (We ought not and we may not. For in this cult of the masterpiece lies an essential and intriguing seduction and snare. We, who are not geniuses, shall imagine that we can follow them, and we follow them to our destruction.

In India the master is regarded as responsible for the sins of his disciples: judged in this way, how shall the European genius be forgiven?

And as for the work of the mass of individual artists, each relating his own experience in his own way, their work may be of importance to themselves, but how can it be of importance to many or all of us? Its character depends so entirely upon the artist's own peculiar sensibilities, it forms so often, indeed, a record of his pathology, that it can play no part in common life. The Philistine people, who buy or admire only such art as they like, and not what they are told is good, are perfectly right: all the best art in the world was produced for people who liked it. You may fool some of the people all the time, or all the people some of the time, but you cannot induce all the people all the time to buy what does not interest them; and when they do buy or pretend to admire a work of art that leaves them unmoved, it is only because the artist has acquired fame, and to the end that they may bask in a reflected glory.

We cannot create a living art by taking thought. Nor can we persuade the people at large to appreciate such art as we offer them: they have too much good sense, and, moreover, are perfectly capable of producing art for themselves when a necessity arises, as witness recent developments in popular music and dancing. In precisely the same way other arts will come into being, as the inevitable consequents of subjective necessity. If we suspect that anything of the sort is happening, we need not therefore pull it up by the roots to see if it is growing. Art, in a practical sense, is nothing but technique, and technique should be taught only to those who have occasion (not merely ambition) to practice a craft. We could do very well without schools of art and without lectures on the appreciation of art.

It will, perhaps, be granted for the sake of argument that modern art cannot be called pure art. Why then should we not teach the appreciation of the pure art of former times and other races, which we protect in our museums?

For our part, we believe that *nothing* should be taught except to those who have already the capacity and—what would otherwise be a mere ambition—with the capacity, the desire, to learn. This would certainly reduce our audiences to microscopic dimensions, and constitute a radical departure from the ideals of universal compulsory educationists. We should at any rate be able to take our audiences more seriously. But should we even then presume to speak to them of the beauty of the works before them and try to make them recognize it, assuming in ourselves a state of grace and the ability to communicate this state of grace to others? We might as well attempt to teach the experience of love. It is idle to try to teach the experience of the infinite: "the Knowledge of Ideal Beauty cannot be acquired."

Ought we not rather to seek to relate the ancient works of art to our life? To a majority the works of ancient art seem to be arbitrary and meaningless inventions, or merely unsuccessful attempts at representation: not sufficiently like things that are lovely in our estimation for us to admire them, and not understood as statements of cosmic theory because their national symbolism is unfamiliar. We have never found that any audience fails to be interested in a foreign or ancient art (*e. g.*, the art of India) when its meaning and close relation to life are explained. In addressing an audience we should avoid entirely all reference to beauty. It is not as works of art, but as means to given ends, that they were produced. If we can show in what manner the ancient works reflect a human experience and serve intelligible purposes, we have made it possible for them to play a part in our own lives and have enlarged the range of our understanding. For our

own part, we find it impossible to take an interest in works of art which have no intelligible meaning and serve no purpose. The idea of an art for art's sake *may* imply the devotion of the artist to his task: if it means a devotion to art regarded as something other than life,¹ the phrase is empty. The essential function of the critic, then, is to explain the necessity of the work he deals with. The archæologist, as critic, fails only in so far as he confines himself to a consideration of the physical qualities of art, to the neglect of its psychic environment: the æsthetician and connoisseur fail in a much deeper way by talking in the air.

What we commonly mean by beauty is really a question of what attracts us in the subject matter or the physical material of the symbolic expression, and in these matters of taste we should make up our minds once and for all that there are no absolute criteria. Unless we are willing to take for granted the tastes and natural predispositions of those whose art we study, we may as well abandon the study.

The artist working under the compulsion of a genuine necessity has never before him the ambition to produce an object which shall be called a beautiful work of art. He works like an engineer, endeavoring to produce an object that shall successfully fulfill its purpose, and if the art be pure, this purpose is never exclusively his own and private purpose: the object is to be a means towards a recognized and generally desired state of mind.

The theory of beauty is a special branch of philosophy. The artist and the layman should be wholly guided by their common needs and tastes.

¹Th. Gautier: "a labor freed from any care save that of beauty in itself."

REVIEWS

CATALOGUE OF THE REBECCA DARLINGTON STODDARD COLLECTION OF GREEK AND ITALIAN VASES IN YALE UNIVERSITY. BY PAUL V. C. BAUR. XI, 311 PP. ILLUSTRATIONS. NEW HAVEN, YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS; LONDON, HUMPHREY MILFORD, 1922. \$10.00.

This collection of vases was carefully assembled by Dr. Paul Arndt of Munich some years ago and bought for Yale University with a fund presented by Mrs. Stoddard, who unfortunately died before she saw its beautiful arrangement in appropriate cases in the President's Reception Room. A preliminary catalogue was published by Professor Baur and now we have the handsome final publication, well printed on good paper. Most fortunate is it to have illustrations in eighteen plates by the hand of Reichhold, the most expert modern draughtsman of scenes on Greek vases. The reproductions in the 118 figures are not always successful. Some are so indistinct that nothing at all of the scene can be recognized. But Professor Baur has done his work in a most scholarly and scientific manner and has produced an ideal catalogue with much original material. It is certainly the best catalogue of a Greek vase collection that has so far appeared in America, and it will hold its own with the European catalogues of vases. As the collection is representative of almost all varieties of Greek and Roman vases and is especially rich in Hellenistic and Roman wares, the reader will get a good idea of the whole history of ancient vases. Professor Baur discusses 675 specimens, including inkwells, banks, lanterns, lamps, under forty-four main divisions, some with several sub-divisions, and gives a detailed and useful index at the end. The divisions are as follows: Prehistoric Egyptian pottery, Prehistoric pottery from Asia Minor, Cypriote pottery, Mycenaean (Late Minoan III) period, Geometric period, Unglazed stamped ware, Rhodian ware, Graeco-Egyptian Faience ware, Laconian (Cyrenaic) ware, Proto-Corinthian ware, Corinthian ware, Attic black-figured ware, Attic red-figured ware, Attic vases in the form of various objects, Boeotian ware, Moulded ware, Late Greek ware, Early Italian ware, Etruscan Bucchero ware, Italo-Ionic and Ionic ware, Early Apulian ware, Apulian red-figured ware, Gnathian ware, Apulian ware with yellow slip, Canosa ware with white slip, Miscellaneous Apulian ware, Early Lucanian ware, Lucanian red-figured ware, Calenian ware, Campanian ware from Teanum Sidicinum, Italian red-figured ware, Late Etruscan relief ware, Italian and Sicilian ware (Hellenistic period), Asci and Gutti, Black-glazed ware (Greek or Italian under Greek influence), Black-glazed Southern Italian ware, Stamped black-glazed ware, Black-glazed Greek ware (Hellenistic period), Black-glazed Hellenistic ware with applied white paint, Terra Sigillata, Roman and Roman provincial ware, Early Christian ware, Lamps.

The Introduction gives the layman a comprehensive idea of the scope and importance of the Stoddard Collection, and is an interesting, scholarly, brief history of Greek and Italian vases as based on the vases at Yale University. Professor Baur is altogether too modest if he thinks that this introduction is for laymen only, for students of art and even specialists will benefit from reading the many important observations there. I cannot agree that "the excavations of the British at Sparta have proved beyond doubt that in Laconia and probably at Sparta itself was manufactured black-figured ware which formerly went under the name of Cyrenaic pottery" (p. 7). It will be difficult to prove

beyond doubt that the famous Arcesilaus cylix with a typical Cyrenaic scene was made in Laconia. Nor do I believe that Hambidge's investigations, important as they are, are "absolutely original." I have seen many of his general ideas in books published even in the first half of the nineteenth century, but it is interesting to have so many of the Yale vases analysed by Hambidgean principles. We should probably, as Buschor has shown, restrict the term "rhyta" (p. 13) to drinking-horns with a hole in the end and speak of other such vases as plastic vases.

In the Catalogue it would be very easy to increase the number of parallels cited, as, for example, for the Rhodian helmeted head (no. 66), the specimen from Corinth which I published in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, X, 1906, pp. 421-423, where many parallels are given. But enough parallels are cited by Baur to explain thoroughly any particular type. Much more literature could be cited (p. 56) on Laconian-Cyrenaic ware: *Revue Archéologique*, XX, 1912, pp. 88-105, XXI, 1913, pp. 418 ff.; *Jahreshefte*, IX, 1907, pp. 36-58; *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXVIII, 1908, pp. 175 ff.; and Chase, *American Journal of Archaeology*, XXV, 1921, pp. 111 ff. (for the vase from Sardis). Concerning such miniature children's oenoches as no. 142 there are many articles, some even connecting these vases with the festival of the Pitchers or with some child's game such as Tom Tiddler's Ground (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XLI, 1921, p. 139). For no. 40 one can now refer to Courby, *Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, CXXV, 1922, p. 487, an important monograph which appeared too late for Professor Baur to use. The fish plates (nos. 344-346) are probably Campanian and the reader would like to have the species of fish identified. But it is not necessary in a catalogue to have a complete bibliography. In an English book it might be well, however, to refer to the English edition of Buschor.

We close with a wish that America may produce more such good catalogues of our ancient vases, for good catalogues are among the most important scientific publications which an archæologist can produce and are a real test of scholarship.

David M. Robinson

THE USES OF SYMBOLISM IN GREEK ART. BY JANET M. MACDONALD. III, 56 PP. CHICAGO, 1922.

This is an interesting, though not very original dissertation of Bryn Mawr College. Much more has been done in studying symbolism in Greek art than Miss Macdonald knows. She shows no acquaintance with the enormous amount of material in Greek inscriptions and especially in late Greek Asia Minor art, and she does not carry on her subject to Roman times, where the material is more abundant (cf. Macchioro, *Il simbolismo nelle figurazioni sepolcrali romane*, *Memorie R. Acc. di Napoli*, 1911). It is in the very nature of the best Greek art to avoid symbolism and every thorough student of art has realized that Greek art is the great example of non-symbolic art. That is the greatness of Greek art. As Miss Macdonald says, "the Greek artistic mind (to a degree known to no other nation) had the power of concrete visualisation and of self-expression in physically real terms capable of direct pictorial representation. The Greek mind thought in terms of what actually was in order to suggest vividly and immediately what actually might be. This is one of the chief reasons why Greek art does not feel exotic nor become antiquated. It constitutes one of its chief claims to be a salutary influence and a great teacher for artists today."

The subject of symbolism is divided logically under the following heads (but the material is treated in a most higgledy-piggledy manner). Chap. I, Introduction. Chap. II, Various Classes of Symbols, Group I: Attributive, Representative, Canting, Commercial, Agonistic, Personification, Concrete Objects; Group II: Personification, Pure abstractions, Allegory, Analogy, Physical terms for spiritual ideas, Cause for effect, Effect for cause; Group III: Apotropaic, Necrological, Astronomical. Chap. III, The Uses of Symbolism—i, Identification: Of deities, of demi-gods and heroes, Of occupations, Of race, Of time, Of place, Of mint, Of monetary value—ii, System of Shorthand: To indicate landscape, To suggest a narrative—iii, Expression of Abstract Ideas and Emotions—iv, Allusion to Historical Events—v, Protection against Evil. Chap. IV, Relation of Symbols to the Medium: Sculpture in the round, Relief sculpture, Vase-painting, Major art of painting, Coins, Gems, Terra cottas, Architecture. Chap V, Comparison of Greek Symbolism with the Symbolism of other Countries—i, Obvious Similarities—ii, Differences—iii, Reasons for Differences.

I have noticed very few bad breaks. The name of the author of *La Peinture Antique* is Girard, not Gerard. The Vatican Demosthenes is not a so-called Demosthenes (p. 19) and it is bad logic to argue from this statue that "in later times a literary man was identified by his scroll" when the scroll is a modern incorrect restoration and in the original statue the hands were clasped (*cf. Art and Archaeology*, I, 1914, pp. 47 ff.).

David M. Robinson

FIGURATIVE TERRA-COTTA REVETMENTS IN ETRURIA AND LATIUM IN THE SIXTH AND FIFTH CENTURIES B. C.
By E. DOUGLAS VAN BUREN. x, 74 pp., 32 pls., double and triple. New York, E. P. Dutton, 1921. \$7.00.

The long residence of Mrs. Van Buren in Italy, due to her attachment to the British School as student and to the American School of Classical Studies by marriage, has given her an opportunity to carry on her archaeological work which she has never neglected. Her taste in things artistic, coupled with her love of things Latian and Etruscan, makes her particularly able to treat such a subject as terra-cotta decorations.

Italy has not stopped excavating because of war debts, and every year the finds have increased. The terra-cotta revetments from these finds have been the subject of various articles by Mrs. Van Buren and by other scholars as well. But these articles have appeared in different periodicals. It is therefore particularly advantageous to have the early figurative terra-cotta temple decorations published in one place and given historical setting and scientific description. No student of archaeology, especially of Etruscan archaeology, can safely neglect a careful perusal of Mrs. Van Buren's book.

The subject matter of the book is grouped into three sections, on antefixæ (it is worthy of note that the author in an article later than her book uses the better word, "antefixes"), akroteria, and friezes, each preceded by a good brief introduction.

The antefixes, located above the eaves of a temple, portrayed the lower ranks of the hierarchy, such as harpies and satyrs. No divinity was taken as a subject for an antefix in the sixth and fifth centuries B. C. A favorite theme was the Gorgon head, with its staring eyes and with tongue hanging from the mouth. There are so many female heads used as antefixes that the entire type has been given the name "Juno Sospita." This is a misnomer.

The types of acroteria are more varied, a natural consequence of their larger size and more individual location. Their arrangement at the angles of the pediments, three at each end of the temple, suggested a more distinct treatment than did that of the antefixes, placed in a long row at the eaves, where similarity was seemingly *au fait*. The design in the friezes was generally a military procession, giving a common subject but a great variety of individual figures.

The molds and kilns for making these terra-cotta revetments have been discovered in many of the excavations, and years ago large numbers of the molds and terra-cottas found their way to the museums of Europe and the United States. Unfortunately, terra-cottas for many years did not get the attention they deserved, and museum publications failed to give illustrations of those they had. The fine plates in the back of Mrs. Van Buren's book make it especially valuable for purposes of comparison.

Professor Robinson, of Johns Hopkins University, in reviewing this book of Mrs. Van Buren's in *Art and Archaeology* (XIV, 1922, pp. 110-111), notes a few mistakes, which, as he says, are minor defects, but which, in a work that is an important piece of research, must, of course, be noticed. In this connection should be mentioned Professor Robinson's long article in a late number of the *American Journal of Archaeology* (XXVII, 1923, pp. 1-22), entitled *Etruscan-Campanian Antefixes and other Terra-Cottas from Italy at the Johns Hopkins University*, illustrated with twenty-seven figures in the text. This article supplements, and corrects here and there, the work of Mrs. Van Buren, and it should be consulted by students along with the book here reviewed.

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